# Philology of the Grasslands

Essays in Mongolic, Turkic,

and Tungusic Studies

Edited by Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky and Christopher P. Atwood

Guest editor Béla Kempf

BRILL

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The Languages of Asia Series

VOLUME 17

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/la*

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Foreword

Lineages are important in many fields of Central Eurasian Studies. Whether it be the genealogies of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the *silsila* of the Muslim Sufi houses, or the initiation lineages in Tibetan tantric teachings, our fields deal with lineages often traveling from the ancient lands to recent foundations.

When Uralic and Altaic studies began in the New World it was a new field, transplanted from the Old World where it was born. Professor Kara's *uq*, his silsila, his initiation lineage is an especially distinguished one. His teacher was Louis Ligeti who had all his students write in French and take an Altaic surname if they did not already have an appropriately Ugrian one. Louis Ligeti in turn had studied with Paul Pelliot, the doyen of not just Sinology, but also Mongolistics and who (what is often ignored) began his Mongolian studies through a deep familiarity with the Persian history of Rashīd al-Dīn. Like many great gurus, however, Prof. Kara received initiations from many lineages, most notably that of Yüngshiyebü-yin Rinchen in Mongolia. And in St. Petersburg, he also received indirectly the lineage of Boris Ja. Vladimirtsov and the great Russian tradition of Mongolistics.

Residing in Bloomington and teaching in the Central Eurasian Studies department, he has thus given those of us working in the New World the fruit not merely of his own scholarship, intelligence, and (as he says with his usual self-deprecation) his "ragged memory," but also the traditions of scholarship that he himself imbibed. Mixed with the other lineages in Indiana University's Central Eurasian Studies Department, such as those of Yuri Bregel in Central Asian Studies, and Gombojab Hangin who founded the Mongolia Society, the lineage of György Kara has been a wishing jewel, a *čindamani*, to give it its Mongolian form, for his students, colleagues, and employers.

The *čindamani* was a wishing jewel, which solves all a kingdom's budgetary woes by giving the prince who has it an unending supply of good things. In the *jataka* (*čadig*) legends about the Buddha's earlier lives, the Buddha-to-be was born once upon a time as a prince whose couldn't stop giving things away to any beggar who asked. His father, the king, remonstrated with him, saying that the money in the treasury which the prince was giving away was not free, but actually had to be collected from the sweat of the peasants. So the more he gave away, the more taxes they would have to pay. The prince saw the justice of this plea and realized the only solution that would allow him to keep giving endlessly without burdening the peasants was to find the wishing jewel in the mysterious isle far south in the Indian Ocean. The young prince then went on a mission to find this wishing jewel. We need not follow the entire story,

but one may say that Professor György Kara has for many, many years been the philological *čindamani*, the wishing jewel in Indiana University's Central Eurasian Studies Department. Whether it be Old Turkic or Ewenki or Altaic philology or the origin of the Hungarians, he has been able to fulfill the desires of colleagues and department chairs to have everything—I mean *everything*—covered on one salary. Let us rejoice in this light while we have it.

In the tradition of festschrift, we have another point of contact between our academic rituals and the Central Eurasian religious traditions lies in. In this tradition, students express their gratitude to their teacher and by demonstrating what use they have made of his teaching. Likewise in the famous *danshig* or *bat orshil* ritual that is practiced in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist traditions, disciples ask the guru to remain in this world, expressing their desire for many more years of teaching. And so we also fulfill this custom on the present occasion. And the "we" here that follow this tradition includes not just Mongolian studies, but many fellow students in Altaic, Turkic, Manchu-Tungusic, Central Asian, and Tibetan studies. By remembering and honoring our teacher, we also have occasion to remind ourselves of the too often slighted discipline of Philology, what James Turner reminds us is the "Forgotten Origin of the Modern Humanities." The great life-work of Professor Kara testifies to philology's importance, and the intellectual spirit it can express in the hands of its greatest practitioners such as he is. *Tümen nasulatughai!*

Christopher P. Atwood
Philadelphia, April 2017

Preface

It was back in the summer of 1992 in Ulaanbaatar when I met George Kara for the very first time, just a couple of days after my eighteenth birthday. He was attending the 6th International Congress of Mongolists and I was on my way to China with a bunch of friends spending most of that summer on various trains throughout Asia. The first gesture of his that I saw was him handing over his own daily allowance to students arriving from Hungary on their first visit to Mongolia, while he murmured a few short and very quiet sentences to the students' professor.

When I recollect my memories about him, I always bump into these motifs: the ad-hoc nature of the places we met, the signs of his generosity and his quiet but always witty speech. In the 1990's it was not uncommon, for instance, that our university would be closed during the winter seasons to save some money on the heating bill. Professor Kara held his classes and exams in the most diverse locations from university dorms to heated corridors of public buildings. Later as a PhD student of his, when he was already spending most of his time in the United States, once I spent a long afternoon and an early evening with him discussing different aspects of my dissertation at a downtown Budapest post office, much to the amusement of the local staff probably. Yet another time we ended up in a nearby restaurant, and he ordered lunch for both of us without a morsel of pretended paternalism in the most natural way, knowing of course that the prices of that restaurant were exorbitant for students. By that time it was already very difficult to reach him in person, although he maintained his position in Budapest as well, just to help out the department fulfilling the bureaucratic requirements to be able to run by his official presence. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he offered his income to be shared among teachers working at the department on a voluntary basis.

I don't know if his humility and zesty speech have anything to do with his family background, the education of his open-minded baker grandfather, often mentioned in class, or if it was a way of contrast to the less ornate style of Professor Ligeti's, usual in the then newly renamed Eötvös Loránd University. Next to attending Ligeti's classes he learned his first Asian languages from professors like the turkologist Gyula Németh and the sinologist Barnabás Csongor (who celebrated his 94th birthday in 2017—萬歲!). His abundant talent in languages was obvious from the very beginning. According to legend in the department, after a few weeks spent in Mongolia on their first visit in 1957 Kara amused his companions, Katalin Kőhalmi and András Róna-Tas with a parody of the Mongolian accent spoken by the local Chinese community. A true polyglot he

didn't only scrutinize Mongolic, Turkic, Tibetan, Manchu, Evenki, and Chinese languages, but unlike many of his predecessors (and quite a few successors for that matter), he was able to reach a good command of their spoken varieties. Following orders from Ligeti, he stayed at the university after having graduated and receiving his university doctorate in 1961 and candidature (roughly equal to PhD) in 1967. He started to nurture a newer generation of scholars, and after Ligeti's death in 1987 he was already the head of department. He also took the chair of the Department of Chinese and East Asian Studies for a while. Ever since its establishment in 1970 he had been the director of the Research Group for Altaic Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences until it was closed in 2006. Among his disciples in Budapest are internationally renowned scholars like Ágnes Birtalan and Imre Hamar, now heads of the above departments. From 1988 he started to teach at the department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University in Bloomington. For a long period he lived a "transhumant" life spending half of the year in Hungary and the other in the USA, finishing this tiresome practice only in the middle of the first decade of the new millennium. During this time he taught another group of young American scholars like Christopher P. Atwood, the co-editor of this volume, as well as Brian Baumann, Daniel Prior, and Andrew Shimunek, all contributing their papers below.

Professor Kara's lifetime affiliation with Asian philology set a rare example for all members of academia earning him a reputation of the all-wise scholar, but beyond that lie even more important layers of his personal character and that is his philanthropy and humanism. These are the most prominent pillars of his personality for which he is known among his contemporaries: an extraordinary humanist with extraordinary knowledge. *Tümen nasulatughai!*

> *Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky*
> Budapest, April 2017

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The *Yibu* (譯部) Chapter of the *Lulongsai lüe* (盧龍塞略)

Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky*

During the course of the twentieth century most of the medieval Sino-Mongol glossaries and inscriptions were reconstructed by pioneers of the field providing invaluable lexical support for diachronic Mongol linguistics (Lewicki 1949, 1959, Haenisch 1957, Ligeti (Kara) 1990, Mostaert (de Rachewiltz-Schönbaum) 1977 etc.). Later on many of these publications were corrected and reprinted as new data and new linguistic approaches emerged (Kara 1990, Kuribayashi 2003, de Rachewiltz 2006). However, there are still some sources that are almost unknown to the academic public and even if some of them are not entirely unfamiliar to the researchers, most of them lack proper analysis let alone appropriate reconstruction. One of the poorly researched works is the Sino-Mongol glossary *Yibu* 譯部 ('Translation chapter')[1] incorporated in the 17th military work, the *Lulongsai lüe* (盧龍塞略 'Outline of the *Lulong* pass'; henceforth abbreviated as LLSL).[2] The LLSL is a late Ming treatise on military issues concerning the territories now belonging to the Eastern part of *Hebei* province in China bordering the western part of *Liaoning*. The compiler of the LLSL was *Guo Zaoqing* 郭造卿, a Fujianese writer and poet, author of the books like *Yanshi* 燕史 ('The History of *Yan*'), *Yongping zhi* 永平志 ('The record of *Yongping*'), etc. Being a military work, the official publisher of this edition was *Wang Xianggan* 王象乾, the head of the Ministry of War in the Ming court. The LLSL was finally published in the *Gengxu* 庚戌 year of the reign of the *Wanli* 萬曆 Emperor (1610 A.D.), almost two decades after the death of *Guo Zaoqing*

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1   It actually consists of two separate glossaries marked 譯上 and 譯下.

2   The original copy of the LLSL is preserved in the National Central Library in Taipei (№ 210.3 03790, Rare Books/Special Collection), a photocopy of which was the one I used during my research.

古魯班弩孩其七曰朵羅其金曰俺兒炭木曰

也其曰墨臣者參也其曰墨乞着辰也其三曰

勒影曰小兀选兒星曰火墩其曰撒把兒者斗

牙其目月出曰哈兒把落曰升落巴光曰格連

其斜曰克罷其圓曰都兒把其影曰額兒把小

的兒兀折巴其朗曰革倫其有嵐曰撒乞土列

曰他失巴其有耳曰赤乙葛兒葛把月曰撒喇

其鼓響曰坑革兒革得勒堵難曰曰納喇其科

天曰騰克立其河曰因幹牙剌兒一曰我岳旦

FIGURE 1.1 *The first page of the "Translation"*
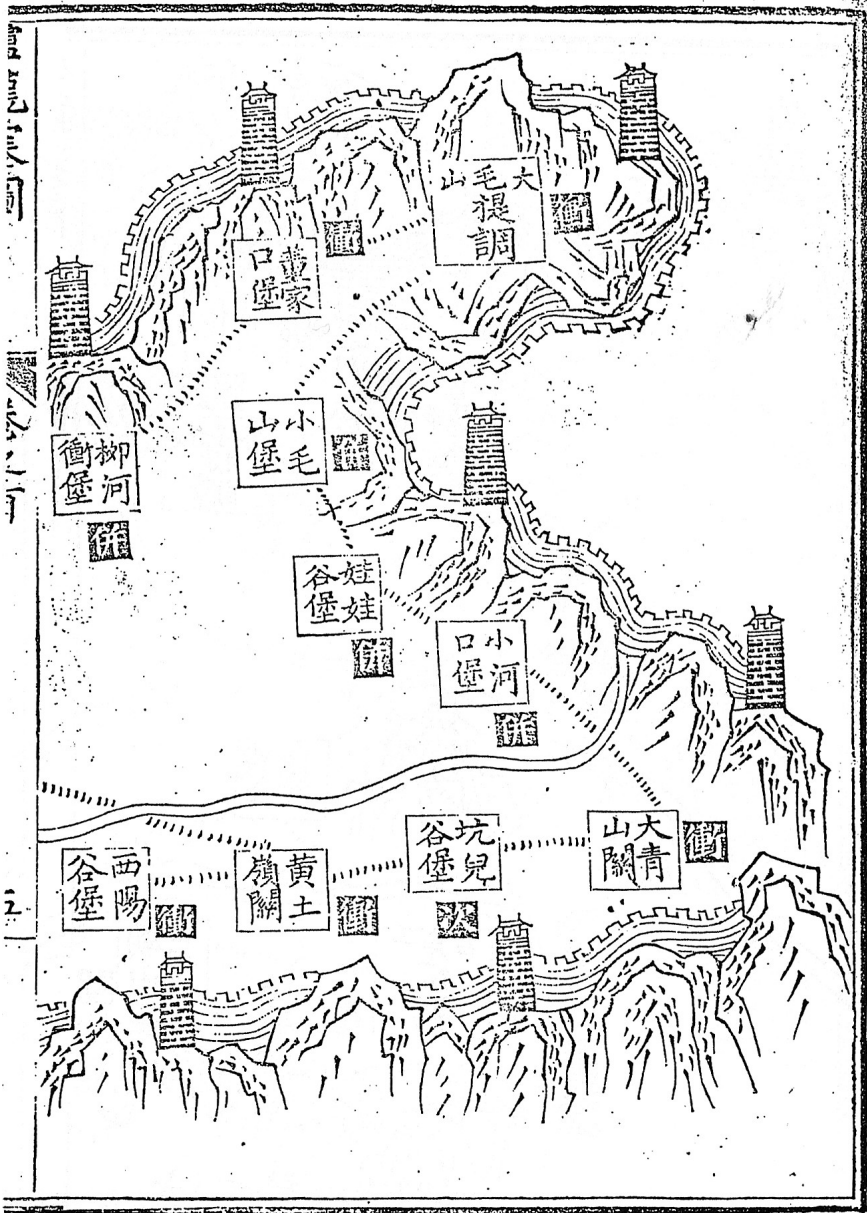
FIGURE 1.2   *A page of the* itineraria picta *in the Tubu* 圖部 *'Maps Chapter' of the* Lulongsai lüe *(LLSL) showing a section of the Great Wall*

in 1593. The LLSL is made up of 20 chapters (卷), which contain various compilations, from biographies of outstanding military personnel to descriptions of the defence system, military organization, logistics and geography of the area, with a large number of maps and illustrations as well as an extra chapter for the appendix. The part, however, which has mostly been in the forefront of this relatively poorly appreciated work is the Chinese-Mongol bilingual glossary included into the 19th chapter. This document is of key importance since it contains one of the last Ming Sino-Mongol vocabularies without proper critical reconstruction until the last year (cf. Apatóczky 2016). Before that critical edition the glossary had not been thoroughly investigated nor was its linguistic data systematically processed. A photocopy of the complete LLSL including the glossary itself was republished once in Taiwan unceremoniously, without much explanation.[3] Some efforts were made by mainland Chinese scholars to give a general view about the Mongol material included in it but these attempts did not stand the test of time (Jia-Zhu 1990: 169–192:[4] Manduqu 1995: 379–598[5]). A transcription of the LLSL text was also published by Ishida in Japan (1938, revised 1973).

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3   Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘 (ed.): 中國史學叢書. 三編 (27) (明)郭造卿: 盧龍塞略 (1–2). [*Chinese History Collection*, 3rd series (27), (Ming) Guo Zaoqing: *Lulongsai lüe* (1–2)]. Taiwan Students' Bookstore, Taipei, 1987.

4   Here we can find transcriptions of the LLSL and other bilingual texts published in simplified (!) Chinese character set as well as a lot of very questionable and doubtful reconstructed forms.

5   While Manduqu's book despite its contribution of giving modern Mongol translations of the entries in Mongol script as well as proposing reconstructed forms, unfortunately contains quite a few errors both in transcription and translation. The quality of the reconstructions is very uneven, a large number of them are not convincing. Listing all the doubtful or erroneous items here is impossible but to demonstrate their quality a short arbitrary collection of inaccurate emendations will suffice (numbering is according to Apatóczky 2016):

1.2b13   **xiá** yuē **chě-de-gān** 霞曰扯的干 Ch. 'afterglow (of the setting sun), red clouds' (read *zhǐ* 址 instead of *chě* 扯 and *ér* 而 instead of *de* 的) *jirǧan*. WMong *jirɣa-* 'the Sun sets'. Manduqu: *čedigen*?

1.4a14   **qí dǐng** yuē **tuō-luò-huō** 其頂曰脫落豁 Ch. 'head, top, (peak of a mountain)' (read *tū-luó-hài* 禿落害) *toloqai*. WMong *toloyai*. Manduqu has not compared it to the relevant section of the WBZh/2 text (禿落害) where the entry was copied from, hence the erroneous reconstruction *toloqo*.

1.5b6   **huī** yuē **chè-huō** 灰曰掣豁 Ch. 'limestone' *šihoi*. WMong *siqui*. Manduqu: *čeqoi*?

1.6a10   **bǎo** yuē **dé-mù** 堡曰得目 Ch. 'walled village, a settlement' *dem* 'inn, hostel'. WMong. *dem/diyan*. Manduqu: *dam*?

1.6a21   (and *passim*) **chéng** 城 **hé-tào** 河套 Ch. 'city' *qoto*. WMong *qota*. Manduqu: *heto*.

As most of the Yuan and Ming Sino-Mongol linguistic data are embedded in bilingual glossaries, when I took the voluminous lexicon (compared to other similar works) of the LLSL as a topic of my recent research, the original goal of the project was to present a detailed and precise classification of its Middle Mongol vocabulary. Therefore as a part of a larger scale research project it aimed to demonstrate that the once assumed hypothetical Middle Mongol language was in fact a dialect-geographical frame of many independent dialects rather than a more or less uniform linguistic state in Mongolian diachronic data.[6] The key element in this work was the reconstruction of the Middle Mongol vocabulary represented in LLSL.

However, during the reconstruction phase a striking discovery has somewhat changed the original focus of the investigation. As it was customary in the Chinese literary tradition the compilers and scribes of LLSL did not cite the sources they used quite extensively. Even after a superficial reading of the text it seemed clear that there are complete sections copied from previous works, like the *Hua-Yi yiyu* 華夷譯語[7] ('Chinese-Barbarian Translation': Hy) and the *Beilu*

1.13b3   qí yǐ sì zì yì zhě **fán shì gōng dào** yuē **ā-lì-bǎ shì mài-de-bā** 其以四字譯者兀 事公道曰阿力把是麥的巴 Ch. explanatory entry 'the translation of the four-character expression "兀事公道 ([someone who is] righteous in every matter)" is *aliba č medebe*'; *aliba č medebe* '[someone who] knew everything'. Manduqu: *aliba šimaidba.*

2.4b13   qí **suǒ-lóng-gé sāo shǔ** yě 其瑣瓏革臊鼠也 Ch. 'weasel' *solongǧa.* WMong *solongγ-a.* Manduqu: *soluŋge.*

2.6a25   **hè** yuē **qiān** 鶴曰千 Ch. '[Red-crowned] crane' *čen[g].* WMong *čeng.* Manduqu:?

2.8a13   **liú lí** yuē **fǎ-yī-dǔ-lì** 琉璃曰法一堵力 Ch. 'colored glass, ceramic glaze', *vayiduri* 'beryl'. WMong *vaiduri,* Manduqu: *qaiduli?*

2.8a17   **shù zhū** yuē **tuō-ā dié-bù-tì** 數珠曰脫阿迭不惕 Ch. 'rosary' (read *sù* 速 instead if *dié* 迭) *to'a subut.* WMong *subud.* Manduqu: *to'a debüt.*

2.8b16   **biàn dì jīn** yuē **nǔ-néng tǎo-ér-hé** 遍地金曰弩能討兒合 Ch. lit. 'golden all over' (read *lóng* 龍 instead of *néng* 能) *nolom torqo* 'brocade with golden decoration'. WMong *nolom.* Manduqu: *nüneŋ torqa.*

2.11b25   **zhōng** yuē **chě-kè-chè** 鍾曰扯客撦 Ch. 'handleless cup, goblet' *čököče.* WMong *čögöče.* Manduqu: *čakajiŋ?*

2.15a16   **shǎn huā** yuē **tā-tǎo** 閃花曰他討 Ch. 'dyed and ornamented (satin weave fabric)' *tatau[r]* '[silken piece of a] woman's hair ornament'. WMong *tatayur.* Manduqu: *tgtau* (sic!).

6   This work started with the analysis of the dialectal elements observable in the BLYY, cf. Apatóczky 2009a.

7   Published many times by outstanding scholars like Lewicki 1949, 1959, Haenisch 1957, Mostaert (Rachewiltz-Schönbaum) 1977.

yiyu 北虜譯語[8] ('Translation of the Northern Caitiffs'; BLYY). At some places complete sections of the original texts turn up, like the part on heavenly bodies taken from BLYY, in which even the sequence of the entries is identical. Processing through the material, it has become clear that the Mongol lexical data of the LLSL that was thought to be an independent scholarly achievement from the early 17th century was in fact a complete plagiarism from three earlier literary works. As the above result was attained a readjustment of the scholarly goals had to be made as well. These findings prove one couldn't expect any relevant linguistic data concerning the early 17th century to be extracted from the text. The focus was now on the clarification of the available sources the authors of the LLSL used, and it was necessary to determine the sources at the level of the independent entries. This part of the reconstruction was probably the most time consuming one as the sources had to be clarified one by one at each and every entry.

After having checked the possible sources of the version of Hy which were used by the compilers, the source could be securely verified as the one quoted in Kuribayashi (2003: i) as "乙", which is a later version of Hy from 1407. Proofs for the source are the following entries where the copied forms contain characters, which are attested only in this later version of Hy.

1.13a18   **tuīcí** yuē **shēn-dá-ā-lán** 推辭曰申答阿藍[9] Ch. 'to decline (an invita-
tion)' (read *tǎ* 塔 instead of *dá* 答, 辤 is a character variant for 辭)
šiltālam 'to excuse oneself, to have an excuse' (copied erroneously from
Hy/乙, cf. Hy 611. «推辭 申塔藍» Kuribayashi 2003: 48 «申塔阿藍»).

1.14b25   **cāng máng** yuē **yá-ā-lán** 倉忙曰牙阿藍 '(to be in a) hurry' *ya'aram*
(copied from Hy/乙, cf. Hy 546. «忙 牙舌藍»; Kuribayashi 2003: 42 «牙
阿藍»).

2.4a21   **mí** yuē **ā-lá-hēi-tái** 麋曰阿剌黑台 Ch. 'roebuck' (read *zhāng* 麞 instead
of *mí* 麋) *araqtai* (copied erroneously from Hy/乙, cf. Hy 143. «獐 阿舌
剌台»; Kuribayashi 2003: 16 «阿剌黑台 < 阿舌剌黑台»).

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8   Apatóczky 2009b. For a detailed analysis of the Sino-Mongol transcription methods see Rykin
2012 (the material he quotes from Pozdneev 1908—in accordance with the facsimile—as
"*Dada yu* 韃靼語" is actually a late copy of the Mongol material taken from *Jimen fang yu
kao* 薊門防禦考 'the defence of *Jimen*', incorporated in the 227th chapter of *Wu bei zhi* 武備
志, right after the BLYY; see later in this paper).

9   The characters taken into consideration in the reconstruction and their Romanised forms
are set in boldface whereas all other characters that belong to the explanations are written in
their normal forms.

2.4b24　**zhě-é-sù huáng yáng** yě 者額速黃羊也 Ch. 'Mongolian gazelle, Pro-
　　　capra gutturosa' (read *lián* 連 instead of *sù* 速) *jēren* (copied from
　　　Hy/乙, cf. Hy 134. «黃羊 者舌連»; Kuribayashi 2003: 16 «者額舌連»)).

Following the same method, the version of BLYY which the compilers of LLSL
used can be identified as the one quoted and abbreviated "By" in Apatóczky
2009b. Some proofs for the source are the following entries where the forms
copied to LLSL are only attested in that version of BLYY:

1.14a11　**cū** yuē **bó-dǔ-wén** 麤曰伯堵文 Ch. 'rough, coarse, big' *büdü'ün* 'thick'
　　　(copied from BLYY/By, cf. BLYY 361. «粗 伯堵文»).
2.9b10　qí **tū-ér-hā ǎo zi** yě 其禿兒哈 襖子也 Ch. 'coat' (襖 is a character variant
　　　for 襖) *tūrqa?* (< WMong. *tuɣurɣa* 'pieces of felt covering the frame of
　　　a tent') (or alternatively read 無哈兒 **uqar*) (Manduqu 1985: *wu-ha-er*,
　　　uqar=Mo. *kürme* 'small coat') (copied from BLYY/By, cf. BLYY 455. «襖
　　　子 禿兒哈»)
2.10b5　**mì** yuē **bǎ-ér** 蜜曰把兒 Ch. 'honey' (蜜 is a character variant for 蜜) *bal*
　　　(copied fragmentarily from BLYY/By, cf. BLYY 432. «蜂蜜 把兒»)
2.11a25　**huá** yuē **ān-zhā-sù** 鏵曰安扎速 Ch. 'plowshare' *anǰasu* 'plow, plow-
　　　share' (copied fragmentarily from BLYY/By, cf. BLYY 611. «鏵子 安扎
　　　速»).

After having done some more investigation into the other Sino-Mongol sources
one could speculate that the third main source of the compilers was the *Jimen
fang yu kao* 薊門防禦考 ('The defence of *Jimen*'), the glossary of which was
incorporated as a whole into the 227th chapter of the famous and grandiose
military work, the *Wu bei zhi* 武備志[10] ('Remarks on Military Preparations';
WBZh), along with the complete BLYY text.[11]

10　茅元儀: 武備志, 卷 227 "四夷考, 北虜考" [Mao Yuanyi (ed.): *Wu bei zhi*. juan 227 "Study
　　on the barbarians of the four cardinal directions, Study on the northern caitiffs"]. As I am
　　currently working on the first critical reconstruction of this material, the references made
　　to its entries will be left unnumbered in this paper.
11　Although Manduqu mentions the sources of LLSL (just like Ishida), he only states that
　　LLSL "in many cases" apparently used them as means of "important orientation" (*čiqula
　　lablalta*; Manduqu 1995: 389) and he does not recognize that practically the whole Sino-
　　Mongol material of LLSL is borrowed from other sources, making it impossible to analyse
　　its data as a representation of a single linguistic entity. Without this recognition he
　　makes further analyses about the crucial features of Middle Mongol, like the initial *h-*,
　　the unstable *-n* and sound changes of Middle Mongol in general, as if the LLSL data

One can easily notice throughout the work that the scribe(s) of the LLSL had very limited—if any—knowledge of the Mongolian language. The most striking examples are those where forms of the very same Mongolian word transcribed with different Chinese characters in the different sources are treated as different lexemes in the LLSL:

2.9b16   **wà** yuē **huái-mù-sù** 襪曰懷木速 Ch. 'socks, stockings' (襪 is a variant character for 襪) *hoimusu.*

2.9b17   qí yuē **kuò-yì-mǒ-sūn zhān wà** yě 其曰潤亦抹孫氈襪也 Ch. 'felt socks' (襪 is a variant character for 襪) *hoyimosun* 'socks'.

Not surprisingly the structure of the sections which are found in the bilingual chapters of LLSL also seems very familiar when compared to other similar bilingual works, with only slight modifications.[12]

yì bù 譯部 'Translation chapter'

   yì shàng 譯上
      tiān shí mén 天時門 'Astronomy and time'
      dìlǐ mén 地理門 'Geography'
      jū chù mén 居處門 'Dwelling places'
      pǐn zhí mén 品職門 'Officials'
      lún lèi mén 倫類門 'Human relationships'
      shēn-tǐ mén 身體門 'Parts of the body'
      shēng líng mén 生靈門 'Living creatures (here: people)'
      tōng yòng mén 通用門 'Generalities'

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were relevant to a language spoken by the time of compilation (pp. 385–386). From the listing of the words *kebit* and *qudaltuči ger* in LLSL Manduqu comes to a conclusion that the word *kebit* was not in use at the end of the 16th century and it was replaced by the term *qudaltuči ger* (*"kebit gesen' Uyiyur' yarul-tai üge ni 16-duyar jayun-u segülči bolqu-du nigente kereglegdekü-ben boliju, qarin qudaltuči ger gesen üge-ber soliydaysan bayin-a"* ibid., p. 386). In fact, the copyist of the LLSL did not list the latter because he considered *kebit* to be an obsolete form unfamiliar to him, but because he did what he was doing in all other cases of multiple entries, he routinely copied the various forms from other sources into the LLSL without any criticism and probably without even comprehending their actual meaning.

12   For a comparison see Kuribayashi 2003: ii; Apatóczky 2009b: 7, etc.

yì xià 譯下

　　zhí zhǒnglèi dì yī 植種類第一 '1st, Plants'
　　　　cǎo 草 'grass(es)'
　　　　mù 木 'tree(s)'
　　　　guǒ 菓 'fruit(s)'
　　　　cài 菜 'vegetable(s)'
　　　　sù 粟 '(types of) grain'
　　shòu chù lèi dì èr 獸畜類第二 '2nd, Animals and livestock'
　　yǔ zú lèi dì sān 羽族類第三 '3rd, Fowl'
　　lín chóng lèi dì sì 鱗蟲類第四 '4th, Scaly insects'
　　zhēn bǎo lèi dì wǔ 珍寶類第五 '5th, Jewelry'
　　guàn fú lèi dì liù 冠服類第六 '6th, Costumes'
　　yǐn shí lèi dì qī 飲食類第七 '7th, Beverages and food'
　　qì mǐn lèi dì bā 器皿類第八 '8th, Utensils'
　　róng jù lèi dì jiǔ 戎具類第九 '9th, Weaponry'
　　sè mù lèi dì shí 色目類第十 '10th, Colours'

The structural sequence of the entries in the LLSL is not as clear as in other Sino-Middle Mongol sources. The overwhelming majority of them, however, fit either of the following structures:

　　Ch 曰 Mo
　　Ch 曰 Mo 也
　　Mo Ch 也
　　其 Mo Ch 也
　　其曰 Mo Ch 也
　　其用 Ch 曰 Mo
　　曰 Mo Ch 也
　　其 Ch Mo
　　有 Ch 曰 Mo
　　其呼 Ch 為 Mo
　　其曰 Mo 者 Ch 也
　　又 Ch 曰 Mo
　　又有 Mo
　　其類 Ch 曰 Mo 兒
　　侖 Ch 曰 Mo 也
　　如 Ch 曰 Mo
　　侖 Mo 也 (in expansions of earlier entries)
　　一曰 Mo (in expansions of earlier entries).

The most typical entry pattern looks like the following one:

> 1.3b10 秋曰納木兒.

Its explanation is:

> 1.3b10 **qiū** yuē **nà-mù-ér** 秋曰納木兒 Ch. 'autumn, fall' *namur*,

while in the index it is listed as:

> *namur* 1.3b10 (*nà-mù-ér* Ch. *qiū*) 'autumn, fall' (copied from WBZh «秋 納
> 木兒») (cf. Apatóczky 2016).

Even in the past decade scholars have made partial linguistic analyses of the "Translation" chapter in the LLSL thinking of it as a coherent and homogenous source for the Middle Mongolian.[13] Now one of the most significant findings of the current project is that—with a handful of exceptions[14]—every single entry of the LLSL is copied from somewhere else.

From this perspective we may say that the project has reached a perfect result as almost all entries found in the glossary were traced back to their original sources, thus unveiling the secret of the compilers. As a by-product, however, we can now seek some answers to the chronological and philological questions that so far were unclear about the sources the authors had used. Most important of them was the relative chronology of the sources. If one looks only at their official publication dates a clear timeline cannot be drawn. One of the main values of LLSL is that it helps us with the relative chronology of these important works. From the parts of LLSL that correspond directly to the material included in the second chapter on Mongolian language of WBZh (WBZh/2) we may conclude that both LLSL and WBZh cited their

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13   Reading some of the very recent works published in China on various aspects of LLSL from university theses to academic papers, it is apparent that the scholars are analysing the Mongol vocabulary of the LLSL as if it represented a certain Middle Mongol linguistic entity; moreover, they are quoting LLSL data extensively to demonstrate a linguistic status relevant to the beginning of the 17th century. Some of these works are: Huang 2004: *passim*; Jiang 2012: 4; Wu 2013: 27–29.

14   See Appendix 1. These are mostly toponyms copied from other chapters of the LLSL. The number of original entries is extremely low compared to the approximately 1400 entries in LLSL; here it is important to point out that LLSL entries outnumber those of Hy (844) or BLYY (639).

material from an earlier source (probably an independent copy of JFYK), which was incorporated in the WBZh as a whole, while LLSL used its vocabulary dispersedly and occasionally.[15] If we compare the evidence of LLSL against all other information we have about these glossaries we can stipulate the following scheme of copying:
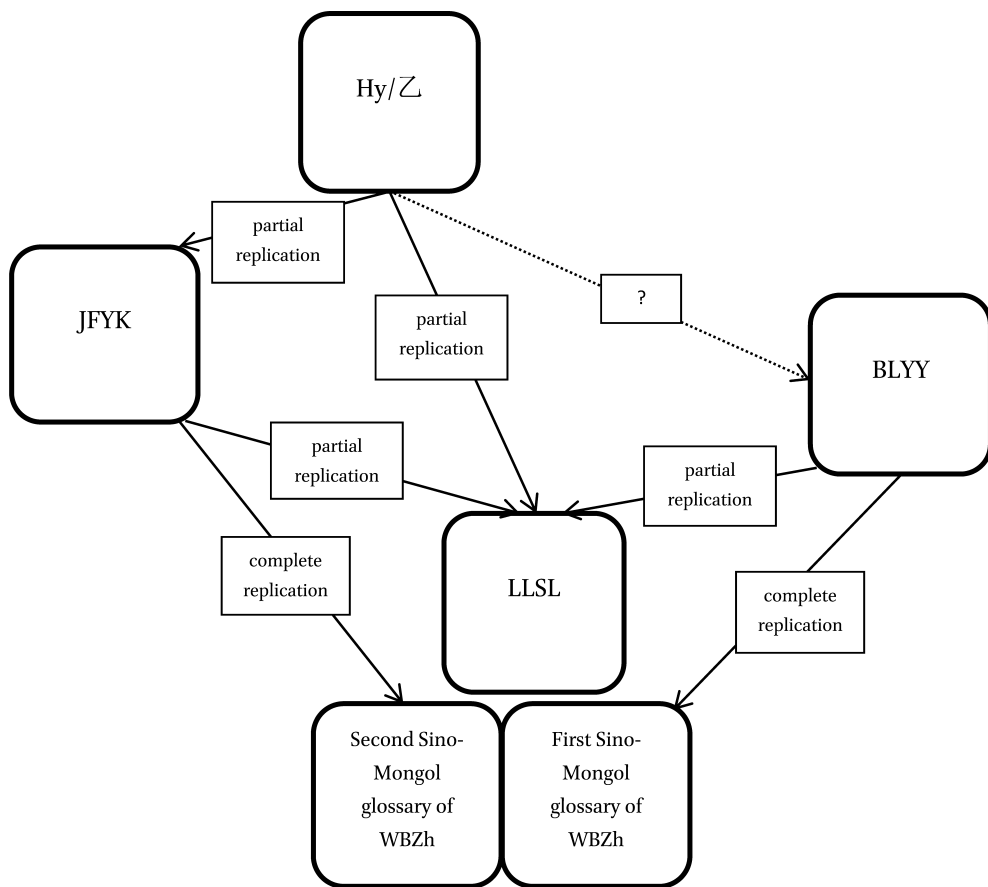
Although the publication year of the WBZh (1621) is later than that of the LLSL (1610) we know that one of the actual sources of both works (for WBZh/2 the only one) was the earlier JFYK.[16]

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15   For a more detailed explanation see Apatóczky 2016: xiv–xv.
16   Another plausible hypothesis for the copying sequence is that LLSL drew both its JFYK and BLYY material from the WBZh where they are put next to each other, but in this case we have to presume that the compilers of LLSL had access to the WBZh several decades before its publication date.

The outcome of the research is not only a phonological and lexical reconstruction but it also resulted in a crucial ascertainment. As the findings of the project made it clear, the linguistic material in the LLSL is not homogenous and does not represent a single linguistic status. It can, however, throw some light on the chronological and philological questions concerning the earlier works incorporated in it.

Conclusion

The significance of the results of the reconstruction work lies in the fact that any linguistic conclusion reached during the investigation of the Mongol vocabulary in the LLSL is only valid for the actual source the compilers of the LLSL used, and that this material does not represent a single dialect or vernacular. Now, that owing to the findings of this project we already know the sources, further philological research can be performed. The first stage of this process was the publishing of the full reconstructed text of the Mongolian vocabulary contained in LLSL. As the similar Sino-Mongol glossaries are excessively cross-referenced, questions of chronology, reinterpretation of uncertain cases and renegotiating of miscopied entries in the sources concerned could be the targets of future research.

Appendix

1   *List of the Original Sino-Mongol Entries of the LLSL*
a   Toponyms and Ethnonyms
Čaqān qoto 1.6a23 會州城曰挿漢河套 (*chā-hàn hé-tào* Ch. *huì zhōu chéng* 'Huizhou city') lit. 'white city' (挿 is a character variant for 插, the Chinese toponym can be found throughout the non-bilingual chapters of LLSL, the Mongolian equivalent however, is copied from JFYK, cf. WBZh/2 «陽和插汗合托»);

ike marā 1.5a14 大鷵場曰以克馬喇大虜聚兵地也 (*yǐ-kè mǎ-lǎ* Ch. *dà jiǎn cháng*) toponym, lit. 'great salt(y marsh)';

Oyr[d] 1.7b3 北稱屬夷曰我勻兒 (*wǒ-yún-ér* Ch. *shǔ yí* 'subordinate barbars') 'the Oirats' (夷 is a character variant for 夷);

qalū[n] usu 1.4b4 湯泉曰旱落兀素 (*hàn-luò wù-sù* Ch. *tāng quán* toponym, lit. 'hot spring') toponym, lit. 'hot water' (湯 is a character variant for 湯; the words

are copied from the earlier scrolls № 12 and 17 of LLSL that do not belong to the 'Translation' chapter);

qoyar su[*b*]*raqa* 1.6a2 曰火亞兒蘇喇哈雙塔也 (*huǒ-yà-ér sū-lǎ-hā* Ch. *shuāng tǎ*) toponym, lit. 'two pagodas' or 'two stupas';

Šangdu 1.5a15 灤河曰商都口外及大川入口也 (*shāng-dū* Ch. *luán hé* 'Luan river') 'Xanadu (< Ch. 上都, Mongol city near the Luan river)' (the Chinese toponym can be found throughout the non-bilingual chapters of LLSL).

b   Other
bije 1.8b4 妾曰嬖只 (*bì-zhī* 'concubine' *qiè*) 'favourite concubine' (< Ch. 嬖妾);

daus-ba 1.13b12 終曰島思八 (*dǎo-sī-bā* Ch. *zhōng*) '(has) finished';

maǰi[*ng*] 2.8a16 臙脂曰馬支 (*mǎ-zhī* Ch. *yān zhī* 'rouge, lipstick') 'ointment, lotion'.

Abbreviations

BLYY	Beilu yiyu (Yiyu)
Ch	Chinese
Hy	Hua-Yi yiyu
JFYK	Jimen fang yu kao
LLSL	Lulongsai lüe 'Outline of the *Lulong* pass'
Mo	Mongol
WBZh	Wu bei zhi
WMong	Written Mongol (or Classical Mongolian)

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Middle Turkic Dialects as Seen in Chinese Transcriptions from the Mongol Yuan Era

*Christopher P. Atwood**

The records of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1206–1368) preserve thousands of transcriptions of Mongolian and Turkic names. Although Chinese transcriptions have frequently been criticized for their inaccuracy, in reality they offer extremely valuable information for understanding the phonetic diversity and evolution of both languages. By chance, Chinese characters frequently make distinctions that supplement those found in the Perso-Arabic or Uyghur scripts used by Altaic peoples. Thus while the Uyghur script distinguishes the usual four rounded vowels (/o/, /u/, /ö/, and /ü/) at best only into front and back, Chinese transcriptions distinguish only closed and open. By combining data from both sources one can often get a more or less exact phonemic representation to the word in question.

Yet anyone dealing with Chinese transcriptions from the Yuan knows that alongside the majority of cases where these transcriptions either record the names as we already know them to be from outside attestation or help us clearly define previously unattested names, there are many other cases where the transcription seems to be clearly wrong. The name is known, but in place of the expected *t-*,[1] or in place of an expected *o*, we find instead a *u*. Even after accounting for the limitations of Chinese syllabic structure (such as the presence of *ding* and absence of *din* in Chinese) and the differences of aspiration and voicing, many such variants remain. In the face of such variant cases in transcription, Pelliot preferred to explain them by a lack of a living tradition on the pronunciation of the name (e.g. Pelliot and Hambis 1951: 203 n. 8, 225 n. 1). Such an explanation is plausible where the word

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1 Here and throughout, I use /t/, /k/, /d/, /g/, etc. in a conventional sense to mark the strong and weak members of both the aspirate-non-aspirate distinction prevalent in East Asia and the unvoiced-voiced distinction prevalent in western Eurasia. While there were cases of confusion between the two, generally scribes treated the two strong-weak distinctions as equivalent.

is an obscure toponym, obsolete title, or unusual anthroponym in a written source. But it is less plausible where the name is that of a major military or political figure, or where it is found elsewhere scores of times in correct transcription. In those cases, one must suspect a real variability in the pronunciation (e.g. Pelliot and Hambis 1951: 200 n. 4). And the most likely reason for that variability is likely to be dialectal differences. In this small study, presented in grateful homage to my great mentor in philology, Professor Dr. György Kara, I will offer two preliminary case studies of how different dialects of Mongol-era Turkic might be defined by using Chinese transcriptions of Turkic names made during the Mongol Yuan dynasty.

Methodology

The two case studies begin with known ethnic groups or regions and then attempt to define their dialectal peculiarities. (The opposite approach would be to begin with what seem to be dialectal peculiarities and then work to define what communities they might belong to.) The sources from which they are derived are all historical, but these transcriptions were made in two broadly different ways.

1. In some cases, the names appear in Mongolian-language histories, which were then transcribed by bilingual scribes into Chinese characters, as a rule long after the historical character's death, and in any case without any input from that character.
2. In other cases, the transcription became fixed in the life of the historical figure himself (or occasionally herself). In many cases, the historical figure probably did not know Chinese and the transcription became fixed as part of personal interaction with Chinese-speaking staff in government agencies who wrote the name as they heard it. In a few cases the figure, if literate in Chinese, might have chosen the transcription him or herself.

It is in the second type of case that we may expect to see dialectal peculiarities deriving from the historical figure's own speech. Since these historical figures often have a known ethnic or regional background, these peculiarities can then be linked to the figure's ethnic or regional background to define that ethnic or regional group's dialectal peculiarities.

   Although the fact that the written language of the governmental and historical materials being used as sources was, where not Chinese, Mongolian rather

than Turkic, this is less problematic for the study of Turkic phonetics than one might think. Mongolian was written in the Uyghur-Mongolian script, that is, a script originally designed for Uyghur Turkic and used widely by both Turkic and Mongolian scribes throughout the Mongol empire. The Mongolian version of this script was extremely conservative, taking over a number of idiomatic Uyghur spellings without change, and even accepting ambiguity rather than overturn certain Uyghur-based phonotactic regularities. Thus Turkic names were generally written in Mongolian exactly as they were written in Uyghur Turkic, and often the Mongolian scribe using the script was actually a native speaker of Uyghur or (as we will show) another Turkic language.

As the basis of this research, Chinese transcriptions of anthroponyms of persons from the Mongol Yuan dynasty, affiliated with two known Turkic-speaking regional or ethnic groups, were gathered. The Chinese transcriptions were converted to into phonetic transcriptions in accordance with the known principles of Mongol-era transcriptions of Turco-Mongolian languages into Chinese. These principles were first studied systematically by Paul Pelliot in his many works, and have been further refined by me in the course of my forthcoming critical edition and commentary on a Mongolian historical work, the *Campaigns of Chinggis Khan*, preserved only in Chinese translation and Persian paraphrase. The transcriptions were then compared with what may be taken as the standard or unmarked Middle Turkic pronunciations, as seen in standard reference works, such as the *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* and the *Onomasticon Turcicum*. Consistency of the anthroponym's pronunciation with such standard sources was coded as null data, but inconsistency with the standard Middle Turkic forms in a given anthroponym's pronunciation was coded as potentially indicating the dialectal pronunciation of the ethnic or regional group to which the person belongs. Where a significant number of anthroponyms affiliated with the same ethnic or regional group exhibited the same deviation from the standard pronunciation, then a dialectal peculiarity of this group was treated as being confirmed.

In assessing the significance of particular transcriptions, additional considerations derive from the fact that well-known persons often have more than one attested transcription. Some of the variation is irrelevant to the pronunciation (substitution of one homonymous Chinese character for another, for example, or transcriptions with or without vowels in the Perso-Arabic script). Other variations, however, have clear phonetic significance, giving, for example, one version of the name that is more consistent with the standard forms, and another version that appears to be dialectal. In these cases, the presumption is that the dialectal version is more likely to be the speaker's own dialect. It is particularly significant when a single transcription 'bundles' several dif-

ferent dialectal features together, especially ones that are themselves known from Turkic linguistics and general phonetic principles to be correlated with each other.

In the reconstructions from Chinese, there are certain ambiguities which had to be resolved, based on the assumed etymology of the word. Theoretically speaking such ambiguities could be resolved in some cases differently, by taking one or another Turkic anthroponym as the intended target word of the transcription. One could theoretically then cherry-pick the target anthroponyms to suit potential theories about the dialectal situation. In practice, however, I have not found cases where such exploitation of ambiguity has been possible. Data from languages with alphabetic scripts (Perso-Arabic, Mongolian, etc.) is particularly helpful in making sure that ambiguities in the Chinese have been correctly resolved. Another issue is the occasional corruption of texts, which would seem to need emendation. Since such emendation is governed in part by pre-existing senses of the pronunciation of target words, to rely on emended words as evidence of dialectal peculiarities would be potentially circular. Thus to avoid contamination of the sample by our conclusions, any name for which textual emendation has to be proposed has been excluded.

Data

In these tables I have arranged the data from Chinese transcriptions in parallel with those from alphabetic scripts (Persian or Mongolian). The Chinese transcription values represent the conventional value given to characters when transcribing Turco-Mongolian names. In cases of where the Chinese is ambiguous, I have used capitals (R: r or l; N: n, r, or l; A: a or e). It should also be understood that *x* may transcribe *q, ġ*, or initial *h*. Some characters are conventionally used only in syllable-final positions; these are represented by a single letter. Others are sometimes used in that position, sometimes not; for them the vowels are placed in parantheses. Non-nasal plosives in the syllable-final position were often omitted in Chinese transcription. Where the alphabetic transcriptions and/or etymologies indicate that such a syllable-final plosive must be posited, this has been marked in brackets [ ].[2] Abbreviations for languages are as follows: C = Chinese, I = Italian, K = Kitan, M = Mongolian, P = Persian, S = Syriac, T = Turkic.

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2 Note that these *t*'s and *k*'s have nothing to do with any survival of the "entering tone" in Yuan Chinese

TABLE 2.1   *Anthroponyms of the Öng'üt (central Inner Mongolia)*

Chinese transcription	Chinese transcription values	Attested alphabetic transliteration	Etymology	Demonstrated sound changes
阿剌兀思 阿剌·忽思	a-Ra-u-s a-Ra-xu-s	ĀLAQWŠ (P)	Ala-Quš 'Mottled Bird' (T)	/ʃ/ > /s/ (final)
剔吉·忽里 的乞·火力	ti-gi[t]-xu-R(i) di-ki[t]-xo-Ri	TYKYN- QWRY (P)	Tegit 'Prince+plural' (T) Quri 'Official' (K)	/e/ > /i/ /t/ > /d/ /u/ > /o/
阿里黑	a-Ri-x(i)		Arïǧ 'pure' (T)	None
朶兒必·塔失 禿里必·荅思	do-r-bi-ta-š(i) tu-R(i)-bi-da-s	TWRBYDAŠ (P)	Törpä-Taš 'Gift Stone' (T)	/t/ > /d/ /ʃ/ > /s/ (final) /ö/ > /ü/ /æ/ > /i/ (final)
阿昔思	a[t]-si-s		At + sïz 'Without horses' (T)	/z/ > /s/ (final)
聶古台	ne-gu-tAi		Negütei~Negüdei 'Negüs Man' (M)	None
君·不花	gun-bu-xa		Kün + Buqa 'Sun Bull' (T)	/k/ > /g/
愛·不花	ai-bu-xa	ĀYBWQA (P)	Ay + Buqa 'Moon Bull' (T)	None
拙里·不花	ǰo-R(i)-bu-xa		Yol + Buqa 'Striped Bull' (T)	/j/ > /dʒ/
脫歡	to-xaN		Toǧan 'Sated' (T) or 'Falcon' (T)	None
月忽難	yo-xu-naN		Yuḥanon 'John' (S)	/u/ > /o/
尤忽難	ǰu-xu-naN		Yuḥanon 'John' (S)	/j/ > /dʒ/
月合乃	yo-xa-nai		Yuḥanon 'John' (S)	/u/ > /o/
錫里吉思	si-r-gi-s		Särgis 'Sergius' (S)	/æ/ > /i/
闊里吉思	ko-R(i)-gi-s		Giwargis 'George' (S)	/g/ > /k/
尤安	ǰu-aN		Giovanni 'John' (I)	/o/ > /u/
鎮國	ǰin-gui	ŠNKWY (P) CINKKUI (M)	Čin-gui (T) < 鎮國 'Defends the Kingdom' (C)	/tʃ/ > /ʃ/ (initial)
按竺邇	aN-ǰu-r		Alčur (?)	n.a.
孛要合	bo-yau-xa		?Boyaw (T) + qa (K)	
白斯波 白廝波	bai-s-bo		?Bayïš (T) + bu (K)	/ʃ/ > /s/
白廝卜 白四部	bai-s-bu			
白廝馬	bai-s-ma			

TABLE 2.2   *Anthroponyms of the Naiman* (*western Mongolia*)

Chinese transcription	Chinese transcription values	Attested alphabetic transliteration	Etymology	Documented sound changes
亦難赤 亦年赤	i-naN-či i-neN-či	AYNANJ (P)	Ïnanč 'belief, trust' (T)	None
曲薛吾·撒八 剌	ku[k]-se-u-sa-b(a)-Ra[q]	KWKSAKW SBRAQ (P)	Köksäü 'consumptive' + ?Sabraq (title?) (T)	/ö/ > /ü/
盃禄	bui-Ru[q]	BWYRWQ (P)	Buyruq 'commander' (T)	None
泰陽 太陽	tai-yang	TAYANK (P)	Tayang (T) < 大王 'great prince' (C)	None
火里·速八赤, 火力·速八赤	xo-R(i)-su-bA-či xo-Ri-su-bA-či	QWRY SWBAJU *QWRW SWBAJU (P)	Quri 'official' (K) Sübeči 'warden of the pass' (M)	/ü/ > /i/ /u/ > /o/
帖迪·沙	te-di[k]-ša[l]	TATYK-ŠAL	Tetik 'clever' (T) + *Ša'al* (title)	None
不蘭伯	bu-RaN-bai bu-RaN-*beg*		Buran (T) 'snow-storm' + Bay 'rich man' or Beg 'commander'	None
曲出律, 屈出律 曲書律	ku-ču-Ru[k] ku-šu-Ru	KWŠLWK, KWŠLW (P)	Küč(ü)lü(g) 'strong' (T)	/tʃ/ > /ʃ/ /-g/ > ∅
合折兒 < *合析兒	xa-si-r		? Qačïr 'Flight' (T)	/tʃ/ > /ʃ/
敞溫	čang-un			
麻察	ma-ča[q]		Mačaġ < Bačaġ 'Fasting' (T, M)	
伯不花	bai-bu-xa *beg*-bu-xa		Bay Buqa 'Rich Bull' or Beg Buqa 'Commanding Bull' (T)	None
抄思	čau-s		Čawuš 'commander' (T)	/ʃ/ > /s/ (final)
囊加歹	nang-gia-dAi		Nanggiyadai 'S. Chinese' (M)	
海速	xai-su[q]			
別的因	be-di-(y)in		Betekin (M)	/k/ > ∅
鐵連	te-len		Tilän 'Wish!' (T)	/ɪ/ > e
兀魯·不花	u-lu[ġ]-bu-xa		Ulu(ġ) Buqa 'Big Bull' (T)	
和尚	xo-šang		Qošang 'monk' (M)	
不花	bu-xa		Buqa 'bull' (T, M)	

Discussion: The Öng'üt Dialect

The Öng'üt people inhabited two discontinuous areas within the territory of the Jin 金 dynasty (1115–1234), one north of present-day Höhhot, and the other in southern Gansu. The former were vastly more important in Mongol Yuan history, and all but two of the names (Alchur and Sirgis) found in the corpus of names stem from the Inner Mongolian Öng'üt. The description of the Öng'üt dialect is thus one specifically of the Inner Mongolian Öng'üt.[3]

The Öng'üt formed a politically unified vassal kingdom of the Jin dynasty with a distinct sense of identity. The origin of the Öng'üt is rather obscure, but Öng'üt and Chinese scholars in the Yuan dynasty connected them with the Shatuo 沙陀 Turks and/or the Uyghur qaghanate of eighth to tenth centuries. The Shatuo Turks were themselves of mixed Turkic and Sogdian ancestry, and formed four of the five minor dynasties in North China during the so-called 'Five Dynasties' period (907–960). In the middle of the eleventh century, the Öng'üt converted *en masse* to East Syriac Christianity, and this conversion is reflected in the prevalence of Syriac Christian names in their onomasticon. Their surrender to the rising Mongols under Chinggis ('Genghis') Khan was a wrenching change for Öng'üt elite who cherished an image of themselves as the Jin dynasty's loyal border wardens, but once accomplished the shift in allegiances brought many opportunities for power and profit to Öng'üt elites in the new empire. Among the new opportunities was that of exposure to other forms of Christianity, and the Öng'üt prince Körgis ('George') briefly converted to Catholicism and named his son Ju'an (from 'Giovanni'). After his death, his brother returned the Öng'üt to the East Syriac fold again. (On Öng'üt and Shatuo history, see Atwood 2010, 2014.)

As one of the, if not *the*, easternmost body of Turkic speakers in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, the Öng'üt dialect might be expected to be quite distinctive, and indeed it was. Öng'üt onomasticon reflects a coherent set of sound changes that defined a clearly distinct dialect. Those sound changes attested more than once include the following:

1. A weakening of initial strong consonants, e.g. /t/ > /d/ and /k/ > /g/
2. Linked changes in the affricates and fricatives, thus /tʃ/ > /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ > /s/
3. Linked changes in the rounded vowels by which the close and mid rounded vowels change places, e.g. /u/ > /o/, /o/ > /u/, and /ö/ > /ü/

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3 Comparison of Mongolian transcriptions with Jin-era Jurchen transcriptions of Öng'üt names would be important, but unfortunately to my knowledge no such data exist.

4.   Öng'üt is probably also one of the Turkic dialects in which /j/ > /ʤ/. However, it is conceivable that this is a reflection not of Öng'üt dialect pronunciation, but of Mongolian scribal reading.[4]

Together these sound changes define a dialect that is not identical to any extant Turkic language. No. 1 is characteristic of the Oghuz dialects to the southeast (Golden 1992: 21–22),[5] but nos. 2–4 are characteristic of the Qïpchaq-type Turkic languages today, notably Kazakh and Tatar, although no one Qïpchaq language has the full panoply of such changes seen in Öng'üt (Golden 1992: 22–23).[6] Moreover, Öng'üt shows no trace of the sound changes /-g/ > /-y/ and /ɢ/ > /-w/, which form one of the most consistent and characteristic Qïpchaq isoglosses.

    The numerical and social prominence of Öng'üt Turks in the new Mongol empire gave a distinctly 'Öng'üt' cast to the dominant dialect of the Turkic scribes operating in the post-1260 Mongol Yuan capital of Daidu 大都 (modern Beijing).[7] Yet as is documented by the Persian transcriptions of Mongol-era terms collected by Gerhard Doerfer (1963–1967), the language of the Uyghurs who were so prominent in the Mongolian scribal class did not share these dialectal features. Thus the working pronunciation of Turkic scribes in the Yuan dynasty appears to have been a mix of Öng'üt and Uyghur features. This mixing can be seen in Chinese transcriptions of the common Turkic personal name *Tash* 'stone,' in which forms based on the pure Uyghur *Tash* (e.g. Yao Jing'an 1982: 277a–278b) and pure Öng'üt *Das* (Yao Jing'an 1982: 503c) coexisted with the mixed forms *Dash* (Yao Jing'an 1982: 213a–b, 510b–502a) and *Tas* (Yao Jing'an 1982: 281b–c). Öng'üt influence is also visible in the 'dental confusion' (i.e. writing *d* for standard *t*) which is a characteristic feature of

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4   Mongolian had received centuries earlier a large number of loan words from Turkic languages which showed this characteristic change. Uyghur Turkic, however, retained the primitive initial /j/ in these words. As a result, Uyghur and Mongolian scribes in the Mongol Yuan period tended to treat initial /j/ and /ʤ/ (conventionally transcribed as *y-* and *-ǰ*) as the "Uyghur" and "Mongolian" reading, respectively, of any given name.

5   Such initial lenition is also found among the Qïpchaq-type Turkic languages only in the Qumïq language of Dagestan (Alexander Vovin, personal communication, e-mail, June 19, 2016).

6   The linked changes in affricates and fricatives (/ʧ/ > /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ > /s/) are found most consistently in Kazakh, but the changes in rounded vowels are found most consistently today in Tatar. (This may be seen in the abundant data in Csáki 2006).

7   I use here the Yuan-era Persian and Mongolian pronunciation which is still used in Mongolian today when referring to the Yuan capital.

Yuan-era 'Uyghur' (i.e. Uyghur-script Turkic) manuscripts, many of which were undoubtedly copied by Öng'üt scribes in Daidu and elsewhere (see e.g. Zhang and Zieme 2011). On the other hand, as the case of Chingüi/Shingüi shows, it appears that Turkic scribes in the Mongol Yuan empire continued to write standard *č* as *č*, even as it was routinely being pronounced by Öng'üt scribes as *š*. The resulting confusion of *č* and *š* can be seen even in Marco Polo, who evidently learned Turkic in the Uyghur script, when he writes Shangdu 上都 as Ciandu (i.e. Čaŋdu) and Shulistan as 'Cielstan' (Pelliot 1959, s.vv. §146 'Ciandu' and §154 'Cielstan').[8]

Naiman Dialect

By contrast, the data for the Naiman dialect, spoken in the Altai region where Mongolia, Xinjiang, Russia, and Kazakhstan meet today, is much less satisfactory in discerning dialectal patterns. Virtually all the transcriptions appear to follow standard Turkic forms. The only exception is the clear /tʃ/ > /ʃ/ sound change found in the name Küchülüg/Küshlü and the equally clear change of /ʃ/ > /s/ found in Chawus. However, there are many cases where *č* is found without change into *š*, including that of Chawus, despite the fact that the /tʃ/ > /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ > /s/ sound changes are generally linked, e.g. in Kazakh and Karakalpak (Golden 1992: 23).[9] Given the principles stated in the Methodology section, the positive existence of such deviations from standard Turkic is more important than the absence of such evidence in other cases. One can thus preliminarily assume that Naiman Turkic also had both of the linked sound changes found among the Öng'üt.

But why the lack of consistency and lack of positive data? The reason for this lack of data goes back to the differing position of the Naiman and the Öng'üt within Mongol Yuan history. First of all many of the transcriptions were created after the person's death, in the transcription of historical sources. In these cases, which cover the first six cases, one cannot expect any direct reflection of the Naiman persons' own dialect, only that of the scribes transcribing and translating the history, some of whom were Uyghurs, others Öng'üt, and others from other, more obscure branches of the Turkic family. Secondly the Naiman

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8   On this question, see Atwood 2015.

9   Bashkort shows a different set of linked changes (Golden 1992: 23). However, such linkage is not always found. Alexander Vovin notes, for example, that in Tatar /tʃ/ > /ʃ/, but /ʃ/ does not go to /s/, thus resulting in the convergence of two phonemes (email, June 19, 2016).

were, before the Mongol empire, far from the Chinese border without any common contact. The Öng'üt, however, were enrolled in the defenses of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234); their leaders would thus have Chinese transcriptions of their name made during their lives, as part of their involvement in the Jin system. Thus even the pre-Mongol empire historical figures of the Öng'üt would have transcriptions reflecting their own pronunciation. Moreover, the Naiman Turks were not prominent in the scribal world, unlike the Öng'üt. Most of the names found are of commanders holding hereditary positions in the Mongol military hierarchy in China proper. It is not unlikely that they soon began losing their own dialect. Finally, the Naiman kingdom was known to have had literacy before the Mongol unification of Mongolia, but the one scribe at the Naiman court we know of was a Uyghur, who set the mark for standard Turkic in the Mongol Yuan dynasty. If we assume as a likely scenario that the Naiman commanders who took service with the Mongol empire after their defeat continued to nurture patronage links with Uyghur scribes, then their names would be transcribed into Chinese by scribes with a strong sense of standard Turkic.

Conclusion

The data presented here makes it clear that under the right socio-linguistic conditions Chinese transcriptions may be expected to reflect dialect pronunciations in ways that are recoverable today. As such they are a potentially very important tool for understanding the history of Turkic languages. One might assume that this data would pertain only to eastern dialects. But dialects from quite far west can also be investigated by this method, since many Turkic peoples from the West were deported as communities to East Asia. Thus, one may take the anthroponyms of two well-known officials and commanders, Buqum and Tuqtugh (Table 2.3). Buqum was a Qanglï and Tuqtugh one of the Ölberi Qïpchaqs in what is now far western Kazakhstan. In both cases, we can see the /o/ > /u/ sound change already noted for Öng'üt dialect and which is also a prominent feature of modern Tatar. In the case of Buqum, the character *hūi* 灰 is probably just a scribal error for the character *hū* 忽 found elsewhere; this textual corruption underlines another source of caution in drawing conclusions about potential dialect forms.

Further research can undoubtedly push this approach much further. Toponyms, for example, can be investigated on the plausible assumption that where the pronunciation of a toponym differs from what might be expected that this difference would be reflecting the local pronunciation. The essential basis for large-scale investigation, however, would be a full corpus of words

TABLE 2.3   *Selected Western Turkic anthroponyms*

Chinese transcription	Chinese transcription values	Attested alphabetic transliteration	Etymology	Demonstrated sound changes
不忽木 卜忽木 不灰木	bu-xu-m(u) bu-xui-m(u)		Boqum~Boqïm 'My dung' (T)	/o/ > /u/ /u/ > /uy/
土土哈 禿禿哈 禿禿合 吐土哈	tu[q]-tu-xa	TWQTAQ (P)	Toqtaq 'Stabilized' (T)	/o/ > /u/ /a/ > /u/

(anthroponyms, toponyms, and so on), divided by assumed regional origin or else, where such information is not available, by distinctive divergences from expected standard Turkic pronunciation. Even if the provenance of the word is unknown, it can supply information about the linkage or non-linkage of particular features into specific scribal dialects. Eventually, one might even be able to define different scribal dialects based what pronunciation were used in transcribing particular documents with large numbers of Turkic names. The same methodologies should also be applicable, of course, to Mongolian in the Yuan. Thus Chinese transcriptions of Altaic words are far from being the inaccurate and confusing mess they are often taken to be, are actually vital sources of information for the dialectal development of Turkic and Mongolian languages.

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The Scent of a Woman: Allegorical Misogyny in a Sa skya pa Treatise on Salvation in Pre-Classical Mongolian Verse

Brian Baumann

Among 49 manuscripts cordoned off under censure by Qing emperor Qianlong (r. 1735–1796) in the Summer Palace Library in Beijing is a Sa skya pa preclassical Mongolian verse treatise on salvation titled *Oyin-i geyigülügči* [Illumination of the Mind].[1] In 114 folios the treatise's 224 stanzas succinctly survey a broad sample of their subject's key topics, among them the familiar wheel of rebirth, its six forms of being—including the lower three forms of existence, animals, hungry ghosts, and hell beings, and a disjointed, less than comprehensive but lengthy and poignant treatment of Buddhist hell itself. Many of the treatise's topics, hell, for instance, are known across sectarian lines and thus invite comparison. One such topic, given by the phrase *ekener-eče sibtür ömekei* 'acrid putrescence from woman' might be referred to euphemistically as "the scent of a woman."

The topic arises in folio 15r thus:

eldebčilejü erkilegdeküi ene bey-e-yi:	The body we keep in manifold ways,
erijü ijaɣurlaju sayitur onobasu:	When seeking to know its origins well,
ekener-eče sibtür ömekei-iyer bütügsen:	Is a womb filled with sundry sorts of filth,
eldeb burtaɣ-iyar dügürügsen saba bui::	Born of the foulness of a woman's stench.

Here, clinically speaking, the term *sibtür*, usually found in reference to the acrid smell of animals such as cats, dogs, or goats (Lessing 1982: 696), refers to the odor of a woman's vagina.

Pejorative reference to the vagina as foul smelling occurs frequently in Buddhist scripture. According to Robert Kritzer (2014: 4, 11, 24) the description is indicative of Sarvāstivādin literature in particular. The vagina is described

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1 The orthography of *oyin* 'mind, intellect' is a pre-classical form of *oyun*. The censured manuscripts were discovered and reproduced by Raghu Vira in 1955, their importance realized by Walther Heissig (1962), and their facsimiles published by Lokesh Chandra (1982).

as bad-smelling, for instance, in the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* (3.19a–c) of Vasubandhu (fl. 4–5th c. AD [1991: 400]). In *Garbhāvakrānrisūtra* [Sūtra on entry into the womb] this description is attested amidst a detailed discussion of conception, gestation, and birth (Kritzer 2014).[2] Here, in addition to foul-smelling, the womb is described in language redolent of hell as a "filthy, putrid, blazing bog" (Kritzer 2014: 4, 51, 52, 53). The text compares the pains of birth to hell itself and its familiar tortures, e.g. the cutting out of tongues, being boiled in a cauldron, and so on (Kritzer 2014: 87). These scriptures make use of this discourse on the vagina to project a negative attitude towards childbirth as being a source of pollution and suffering (Kritzer 2014: 20–24). This negative attitude contrasts with the traditional Indian view of birth—as described in the Upanishads, for instance—where the womb and childbirth are treated less polemically (Kritzer 2009: 76). Rather, it conforms to a soteriological worldview wherein adherents renounce the physical world itself, that is, the contemporary world order, as inherently defiled.

In this soteriological worldview representations of the vagina as foul smelling and childbirth as pollution and suffering dovetail with representations of womankind as the embodiment of the ephemeral physical world. As such, "woman" signifies the cause of all suffering, something to be avoided at all costs (Paul 1985: 5). Alan Sponberg (1992: 18) has dubbed such representations of women "ascetic misogyny." Jan Nattier argues that Buddhist soteriological literature "encodes a decidedly non-egalitarian vision of what women can (and cannot) achieve."[3] To wit, with but rare and ambiguous exceptions women can attain neither awakening nor Buddhahood unless first reborn male. Moreover, female birth results from karma worse than that of a male, such that males who misbehave risk being reborn female.[4]

Curiously, this demeaning representation of womanhood contradicts the impetus of soteriological teaching, especially that of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which presents itself as the "Great Vehicle" precisely because it offers salvation

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2 Although the subject of the sūtra is ostensibly medical, its medicine is couched within a numerological, apotropaic context which lends the text a mathematical quality (in the premodern sense of the term). For medicine in Buddhist mathematics, see Baumann (2008: 205–213).

3 Prof. Nattier made this argument in a lecture titled "Gender and awakening: sexual transformation in Mahāyāna sutras," UC Berkeley, Sept. 24, 2015.

4 For change-of-gender in Buddhist scripture, see *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T475, Ch. 7) and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (T262, Ch. 12). For being reborn as a woman and the reasons therof, see *Ekottarikāgama* (T125, 2.799b3) and *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* (T266, 9.223c4). I thank Jan Nattier for these references.

to all—all sentient beings, women included. Buddhism does not merely tacitly countenance the salvation of women, it espouses a non-dual philosophy, which, in certain modes, downplays duality of any sort, including duality based on gender; it actively promotes gender equality; raises the status of women in society; and enrolls female support among the clergy. In early Buddhism, although the question of the role of women at the founding of Buddhism remains as uncertain as any other question about that period, when Buddhism emerges into history, Buddhist women are there to support it.[5] With the rise of Tantric Buddhism not only does the role of women adepts expand in terms of ritual development and practice, sexual intimacy itself is embraced as a means to awakening (Shaw 1994: 140 ff.).

In keeping with its overriding soteriological aim, Mahāyāna Buddhism mitigates misogynistic rhetoric in a number of ways. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (7) teaches that in the unity that comes of awakening there is neither male nor female (Lamotte 1976: 171).[6] Although the *Amitābha Sūtra* (i.e., the shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūha*) stipulates that no woman be born in the western Pure Land, the *Akṣobhyavyūha* allows that women be born in the Pure Land in the East (Nattier 2000: 81–82). And with the rise of the cult of Tārā, womankind attains the rank of bodhisattva without undergoing change of gender (Buswell and Lopez 2014: 895–896).[7]

Despite mitigation, however, the conundrum of divergent discourses—damning misogyny on one hand, and salvation on the other—abides, making moot the question of an orthodox Mahāyāna attitude towards women.[8]

Although the question of an attitude towards women is a separate issue and beyond the scope of this essay, a means to penetrate the conundrum of divergent discourses and thereby interpret the text in question lies in void-based epistemology.[9] Void-based epistemology begins in recognition of the void in nature, that is, the presence of a one-and-undifferentiated state which

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5   According to Hajime Nakamura, as equality of all men was advocated and the caste system disapproved, so too the position of women was admitted as being equal to that of men. Yet at the same time, an ethics specifically meant for women was taught as well (Nakamura 1980: 87). For female supporters of Buddhism, see Horner (1930); for the founding of the first Buddhist nunneries, see Heirman (2011: 605–609). For early textual references to women in Buddhism, see Collett (2014).

6   For the text in Mongolian, see Kara (1982: 82–83).

7   For more on the cult of Tārā, see *infra*.

8   For studies of scholarly views on the question of a Buddhist attitude towards women, see Collett (2006); and Byrne (2012).

9   For "void-based" epistemology, see also Baumann (2008; 2012; 2013).

exists in the absence of orientation—as when one is lost in wilderness, caught in a blinding storm, or fallen into a state of panic. To overcome the void, knowledge begins with the fixing of an arbitrary point of reference. From this point of reference orientation emerges in realization of the four directions on the immediate horizon. With the four directions as foundation, it is possible to create systems of orientation of in space and time. These systems are conventional. If there were one absolute orientation to the universe, then the void would be imaginary or temporary. In Eurasian history peoples created systems of orientation by correlating or synchronizing the four directions with the four seasons, such that at the solstitial and equinoctial nodes great arches, known as colures, emanate from the four directions and intersect at right angles at—for peoples in the Northern Hemisphere—the celestial North Pole. These arches form heaven into a metaphysical "vault" or "firmament." Upon this firmament celestial bodies rotate. Peoples subdivided this firmament into a matrix consisting of lines of latitude and longitude. Historically, for many peoples this matrix has been likened to, among other things, the weave of a garment—lines of longitude figured as warp; latitude, woof.[10] Within the heavenly vault the positions of celestial bodies were used relative to each other and to this matrix to indicate occasions in time and positions in space such that any place or season on earth had its corresponding sign in heaven.[11]

From a given point of observation, whereas some celestial signs are visible in heaven above, others are invisible—whether below the earth's horizon or hidden by the light of the sun or cloud cover. In English the term for that aspect of heaven hidden from view is "hell."[12] Knowledge of hell needs be for orientation at night. To know hell means using observable bodies in heaven to gauge the positions of bodies unseen. Important for both navigation and

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10   For the prevalence of the "weaving" figure in Eurasian astral science, see Mercier (2000). In Zoroastrianism Ahura Mazda is said to "wear the heavens as a star-spangled garment" (Darmesteter 1880: lviii). In Buddhist cosmology each universe is said to rest upon a warp and woof of 'blue aire' or wind, like a crossed Vajra, hard and imperishable as diamond (Waddell 1958: 77–78). See also Psalm 104.2 and Psalm 102.26 which says heaven and earth wear out like a garment, but the Lord remains.

11   From one tradition to another and over time cosmologies are neither uniform nor unchanging. The description herein is intended to demonstrate widely common, though not necessarily universal, aspects of ancient astral science. For a comparative study of ancient cosmologies, see Blacker and Loewe (1975).

12   According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* English 'hell' derives from Old English *helan* 'to hide, conceal; to keep secret.'

prediction, from day to day, knowledge of hell meant knowing the position of the sun on its journey through the hours of darkness and the time when it would emerge in the east; and from year to year it meant knowing when and where stars would rise and set and, thereby, the places and seasons ascribed to them.[13]

As every place and season has its corresponding sign in heaven, orientation begets symmetry between heaven and earth such that the order to a given government is reflected in the order it imposes on the sky and vice versa.[14] Such order is conventional, political. The first priority of the man who would be king was to rule heaven so that the people might share a semblance of order in space and time. As nature otherwise is void, a sovereign government has its own peculiar heaven and earth, and so comprises a world unto itself. As ruler of the world, it is a point of order that the sovereign recognize no other heaven, no other earth, no other world. Yet this point of order stands in stark contradiction to the fact that the world at large is greater than that of any one sovereign and that historically at any one time there have existed many heavens and earths, many worlds, which, despite refusing to recognize each another, nonetheless interacted.[15] In their interactions these otherwise singular worlds shared the same sky and the same conventional systems for ordering it. The Western zodiac, developed in Achaemenian Mesopotamia, is but one example of a celestial orientation system widely kept among nations across Eurasia.[16]

Historians recognize the primacy of symmetry between heaven and earth to aristocratic government but tend to forget that its ineluctable concomitant is

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13   In ancient Egypt the unseen realm through which the sun passes at night is *duat*. Scholars (Neugebauer and Parker 1960: v.1, 38–42, 52–82; Claggett 1989: v.1, 409–410; Conman 2003) contend over its astral science but do not deny that it concerns simultaneously conceptions of celestial orientation and rites of death and resurrection. In Zoroastrianism hell also concerns both celestial orientation and rites of death and resurrection. Here hell lies in the region of the north. It is guarded by the constellation Ursa Major. See Vendīdād 19 (Darmesteter 1895: 208–225).

14   The discussion here concerns natural symmetry between heaven and earth in terms of orientation in space and time. It is to be noted that symmetry developed independently of orientation as a political concept. For reference to this development, see Darmesteter (1880: lxxxi–lxxxii).

15   This contradiction is seen plainly in the Old Turkic Kül Tigin Inscription where the ruler's realm on the one hand extends to the celestial limits of the world and on the other to regional borders (Tekin 1968: 261).

16   For the development of the zodiac in Mesopotamia, see Neugebauer (1951: 97–98).

allegory as the mode of scientific expression.[17] Allegory, after all, is precisely that which refers to two discrete things, one, overt, the other, latent, at the same time. In allegory the meaning of terms is not literal. Rather, terms are tropes which harbor esoteric, polysemic denotations. In allegory a term such as "ocean" might refer to the horizon;[18] "dog," the star Sirius;[19] "river," the ecliptic;[20] "mountain," the world;[21] "dragon," a certain constellation;[22] "string of pearls," the Belt of Orion (Allen 1963: 316); and so on. Worth mentioning for their relevance to the discussion below are allegorical tropes of hell. Celestial bodies that set below the earth's horizon "die" in the west and are "reborn" or "resurrected" on the horizon in the east.[23] Sympathetically, human dead abide beyond the western horizon on an island where the sun sets (Clagett 1989: v.1, 355–358). Other tropes of hell include the sun setting into water as a "lake of fire" (Faulkner 1991: 49, 51, 89), the mire of earth into which celestial bodies descend and out of which they rise as "human filth" (Assmann 205: 130), the upside down vault of sky through which the sun makes its nightly journey as a "boiling cauldron" (Faulkner 1991: 102), and the determination of time at night as a "Great Judgment" of souls.[24] In ancient Egypt the pharaoh-ship was established allegorically in sympathy with this personification of celestial motion. Daily the life of pharaoh was consubstantial with the movement of the sun. When a pharaoh died his soul took its place among the stars (Clagett 1989: v.1, 355; Faulkner 1966). Early in Egyptian history place in heaven belonged to pharaohs only. Over time the share was appropriated by other nobility and even

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17   For recognition of literature as the language of politics in the ancient Near East, see Vanderhooft and Winitzer (2013).

18   As noted in Strabo's *Geography* (1.1.6).

19   As in the phrase "dog days of summer" in reference to the onset of hot weather that coincides with the heliacal rising of Sirius. For the "dog days" in Iranian tradition, see Darmesteter (1883: 92). For various allegorical forms of Sirius, e.g. as man, horse, bull, and some of his allegorical works, see *Bundahišn* 7.4 (West 1880: 26–29).

20   As in Egyptian tradition; see Clagett (1989: v.1, 358–359).

21   This trope is known in Indian Mt. Meru, Greek Olympus, and so on. A useful example is the Persian Mt. Alborz (Darmesteter 1880: xviii) and the treatment of mountains in Zoroastrian literature. See Bundahis-Bahman Yast 12.1–3 (West 1880: 34–36).

22   Draco, for one.

23   According to Neugebauer and Parker (1960: 72), in Egyptian tradition the "death" of a star refers to its acronychal setting in the west just after sunset before it goes unseen the following day. According to Conman (2003: 60) the "birth" or "resurrection" of a star refers to its acronychal rising in the east just after sundown.

24   For the "Great Judgment" in Egyptian tradition, see Clagett (1989: v.1, 454–482).

the very wealthy. The souls of "black-headed commoners," however, abided in oblivion (Clagett 1989: v.1, 429–430).

Though poetic in expression, order wrought of government based on symmetry between heaven and earth is fraught with imperfection. Reliance on the observable sky results in an order limited in scope. Peoples living at different latitudes have at their disposal but a peculiar view of the sky. Order given by the irregularities to the motions of celestial bodies is subjective, conventional, irrational, and contradictory. Order which is perfect in the moment of its genesis immediately thereafter begins to break down. And order based on mirror-like symmetry expressed in allegory is hidden in an esoteric language known only to initiates. This imperfection did not go unrecognized. Governments reified it institutionally as "guilt" such that any sort of imperfection, illness, an abnormality such as blindness, even death itself, was seen as being in some way unnatural and the result of wrong-doing.[25]

In the face of this abiding imperfection, a teaching gained acceptance that the salvation of mankind might occur through faith in the possibility of achieving a new world order in the future. Salvation meant eschatology, the destruction of the contemporary world order, and apocalypse, the dawn or revelation of a government, infallible in its conformity with an immutable order in nature.[26] This government was to rule the world, the entire sphere of the earth, irrespective of any one person, in peace and justice forever. For the sake of making progress towards this order, peoples altered their vision of the world to accord with the order they sought to make manifest. They deemed the void

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[25]   See, for instance, in Zoroastrian tradition (Darmesteter 1880: lxxxvi).

[26]   Although "soteriology," "eschatology," and "apocalypse" tend to be studied as individual aspects of individual religions, as is clear from the study of any one aspect in any one religion, they, the concepts themselves and the religions that hold them, are all interrelated and ought to be studied comparatively. For Buddhist eschatology, see Nattier (2008); for Buddhist soteriology, Buswell and Gimello (1992). For Zoroastrian eschatology and apocalypticism, see *Encyclopedia Iranica* (s.v. "Eschatology"); Darmesteter (1880: xlii–xliii; 1883: 168–177); and Boyce (1984). For Mithraic soteriology and its foundations in Near Eastern astral science, see Ulansey (1989); and Swerdlow (1991). For a brief discussion of Babylonian eschatology, see Lambert (1976). For a cross-cultural comparison of eschatological and apocalyptic traditions, see Walls (2008) and Cohn (1995). And for soteriological syncretism between Christianity, Buddhism, and Manichaeism, see Klimkeit (1986). Faith in an immutable order in nature was predicated on belief that the order to heaven, the observable sky, ought to be fast. For this faith in Zoroastrianism, see Darmesteter (1880: lvii). Faith in an immutable order exists, though ultimately in a relative way, in Buddhist cosmology where each universe is said to rest upon warp and woof like a crossed vajra, hard and imperishable as diamond (Waddell 1958: 77–78).

imaginary and took to seeing creation as natural, objective, rational, and abso-lute.[27] They repudiated the physical world itself and the knowledge and wis-dom that govern it as mundane and inherently imperfect and looked forward to the day when the world would be known for what it is and not through mirror-like allegory.[28] To this end, they supported institutions dedicated to pen-etrating the mysteries of nature through specific disciplines of inquiry. And so as to embody the perfection of the world that was to come they made moral virtue the model of human behavior. In so doing, they transformed the notion of "guilt" as physical imperfection into moral imperfection or "sin."[29] Thus, per-fection of moral virtue became the measure of salvation over noble birth-rite or allegiance to any earthly person or thing.[30]

From the comparative analysis of tropes found in astronomical and soterio-logical sources, how the soteriological movement supplanted what was then the aristocratic order of the old world is clear. For one, it transcended the vault of heaven with higher heaven, an empyrean beyond the sky, comprised of abstract concepts such as omniscience, everlasting light, everlasting duration, morality, righteousness, compassion, and common humanity.[31] For another, it took the ancient celestial tropes and refashioned them to reflect the order it sought to make manifest. Likewise, as the means to fight the fires of propaganda with a fire of their own, soteriologists both refashioned the tropes of hell one by one and internalized hell from the hidden aspect of the sky and symbolic locus of the souls of the dead to a conscious state of long-lasting or everlasting duration wherein the undead are tortured for their sins and heresies so that one day new world order might be realized.

The study of tropes furthermore suggests that soteriological teaching coa-lesced into a discernable political movement during the Achaemenian Empire (550–330 BC) among peoples in the Aramaic world, that is, among the hosts

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27   For a rejection of the primacy of the void, see Isaiah 45.19.

28   For a rejection of order based on symmetry and knowledge expressed as allegory, see 1 Cor. 13.12.

29   For the replacement of the notion of "guilt" as physical imperfection with the notion of "sin" as moral transgression, see John 9.

30   For righteousness as the measure of salvation, see Plato (*Timaeus* 42b).

31   For notions of Infinite Light and Boundless Time, in comparison with the notions in Buddhism and Judeo-Christianity, consider also the Zoroastrian terms (Darmesteter 1880: lxxxii). For Zorastrian heaven, see Vendīdād 19 (Darmesteter 1895: 208–225); for its highest heaven, Garō-demāna, the abode of Ahura Mazda, who dwells there in endless light, see Darmesteter (1883: 177). For the four heavens of the Mazdeans, see *Bundahišn* 12.1 (West 1880: 34).

of nations for whom Aramaic was *lingua franca*. During the Greco-Roman era (332 BC–AD 395) soteriological teaching was taken up by various groups, ethnic and political, who used it to espouse "world religion" in the promulgation of their own respective orders, philosophical, national, and state. These groups include (but are not limited to) the Zoroastrian, Judaic, Platonic, Buddhist, Mithraic, Gnostic, Christian, and Manichean. (In the seventh century Islam would join the fold).[32] These vehicles spread soteriological teaching throughout Eurasia.[33] And through these vehicles the void-based worldview that governed aristocratic order came to be supplanted by faith-based epistemology.

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32   With the invasion of the Indus Valley under Darius I (r. 522–486 BC) in the 6th c. BC this world's eastern limit reached India. For an assessment of the origins of Zoroastrian soteriology during the Achaemenid era, see Darmesteter (1880: xlii–xliii). Mary Boyce (1984: 57) gives credence to the view that Zoroastrian apocalypticism embodies a radically new doctrine of profound ethical and intellectual scope. Choksy (1998: 665) rightly cautions that a distinction is to be made between earlier and later traditions of cosmic birth, death, and renewal. Early traditions concern yearly cycles wherein the world is born, dies, and is resurrected. As in the Egyptian Sothic Year, early traditions also knew supra-yearly cycles. These, however, concerned realignment of tropical and sidereal time and came about through observation. During Achaemenian and Hellenistic eras methods of mensuration were developed which allowed for greater ability to predict celestial phenomena. This mathematical sophistication engendered the concept of a "Great Year" wherein all the celestial bodies return to their original position and from the dawn of which day hence the time and place for all fates might be reckoned unerringly (Boyce 1984: 67). This mathematical sophistication was achieved by "Chaldean" astronomers. For the question of whether Iranian tradition in particular is responsible for this profound cultural transformation, see Boyce (1984); Gignoux (1985; 1986; 1999); Ulsaney (1989); and Swerdlow (1991). For the "Great Year," see the account of Berossus (Burstein 1976); and for its influence on Babylonian eschatology, see Lambert (1976).

33   It goes without saying that, though given by faith in perfection, as with all things in the physical world, the soteriological vision evolved over time and differed from group to group. It is important to distinguish two apocalyptic ends in soteriological rhetoric. One end is in a return to an original genesis at the culmination of a numerically calculable "Great" or "World" year; another end is in a future unprecedented. Between these two ends are differing conceptions of time, cyclical versus linear time, and different degrees of faith. Apocalypse in a Great Year is founded on faith in an immutable order to the observable sky and mankind's capability to reveal it. Skepticism that a perfect order based on symmetry between heaven and earth might ever be achieved makes necessary a more abstract faith which transcends the vault of heaven altogether. One sees such faith in Buddhism, where all worldly phenomena belong to *saṃsāra*, the transmigrating world. In *saṃsāra* salvation is phenomenal, relative. It comes with the illumination of the mind to the power of compassion to create a new world order. Ultimate salvation, however, comes with nirvāṇa, cessation of suffering through extinguishing altogether the mind's sapient

Today, although secular world order finds itself politically at odds with "religion," this conflict is due not to the rejection of faith-based epistemology but, rather, to pushing the epistemology to its logical limits. From the Enlightenment and "Scientific Revolution" forward, modern thought has taken the soteriological movement's assumption that nature holds immutable order firmly to heart. In faith in mankind's own ability to realize immutable order, modern thought deems the primary function of science to be not ordering the void, which, after all, ought to be imaginary, but, rather, to furthering understanding of nature. In this, it ignores the function of science given to bringing order to the void. Abjuring the void modern thought has appropriated the term 'science' in reference to inquiry.[34] In so doing modern thought entertains a misnomer. Whereas by etymology and definition, as a word meaning knowledge, science implies perception, cognition, sapience, apprehension, etc.,[35] the modern conception of science disallows knowledge acquired through sensory perception as valid. Rather, it allows only that which may be objectively demonstrated and so devoid of sentience. As it is, science proper and the modern conception are qualitatively different things. Whereas using inquiry to perfect understanding of nature warrants methods which are objective, absolute, rational, systematic, mathematical, logical, and so on, using sapience to bring order to the void warrants methods which, beginning with the fixing of an arbitrary point of reference, are inherently subjective, relative, irrational, conventional, contradictory, and so on.

Modern thought would have it that modern science makes non-modern science obsolete. This obsolescence, however, is a matter of propaganda, contrived, far from absolute. It might be absolute only on the day mankind finally knows immutable order. In the meantime science proper remains. Peoples still must govern the void and knowledge cannot but be subjective, relative, conventional, contradictory, irrational, and ultimately imperfect. In reality, void and faith-based epistemologies affect an inverse relationship in the orders they engender. Whereas the science of void-based governments openly reflects contradiction, the inquiry or so-called science of faith-based governments suppresses contradiction. Void-based government marks the hour as a static instant, as on a sun-dial. Faith-based government marks it as dynamic flow, as by a clock. In void-based government perfect order exists in an edenic past; in

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attachment (Buswell and Lopez 2013: 589–590). One sees a different manifestation of faith in Judaism, as in Psalm 102.25–27 which says that heaven and earth will "wear out like a garment" but the Lord remains, his years never-ending.

34   OED s.v. "science" 5b.

35   OED s.v. "science" 1a.

faith-based government, a utopian future. In void-based government genesis is a political and recurring event; in faith-based government it is natural and absolute. And so on.

The assumption that all texts manifest faith-based epistemology causes hermeneutic misapprehension. This misapprehension is endemic to the humanities and its manifestations legion in variety. One misapprehension is simply to take literally that which is figurative, a dog for a dog, an eye for an eye, a river for a river, and so on. Another is to take void-based genesis, which is subjective, conventional, recurring, and political, for faith-based genesis, objective, original, absolute, and natural.[36] A third common problem is the profound tendency to confuse allegory with explanation. Explanation and allegory are qualitatively different modes of expression. When the Zoroastrian *Farvardīn Yašt* tells us that heaven is "a garment inlaid with stars" (Darmesteter 1883: 181), it does not explain anything whatsoever. Allegory does not explain.[37] Nor does it speculate. Neither does it express belief. And it does not proffer something unreal or fanciful either. It reflects what is. (And, in the moment its meaning is apprehended, it does so perfectly). So, a rule of thumb stipulates that scripture be perfect—rife with contradictions—but perfect.

As for scripture regarding womanhood, sectarian comparison of soteriological texts strongly suggests that an international movement was afoot to transform the status of women. Soteriological literature pays womanhood great attention, treats the subject in a radical way, and yet with—among some traditions—remarkable uniformity.[38] Soteriological rhetoric promotes the nuclear family, exogamous marriage, monogamy, and motherhood over old-

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36   See the history of interpretation on Genesis 1–4. Although biblical Genesis would appear to have been composed from void-based epistemology as allegory; historically, it has been reinterpreted according to a faith-based perspective. This, one assumes, was done for political reasons as a way to promote a more progressive world order. See Augustine's *De civitate dei contra paganos* [The city of God against the pagans] 11–12; and Luther's *Commentary on Genesis* which holds that Moses, the reputed author of Genesis, "spoke literally and plainly and neither allegorically nor figuratively" (Lenker 1904: 41). The Old Testament itself changes epistemology from void-based (Gen. 1–4) to faith-based (Is. 45.19). Yet modern commentators often blithely assume any reference to genesis anywhere must be faith-based. For an attempt to read Genesis 1 as cosmology, see Walton (2011).

37   Hence Herodotus founds inquiry (*historia*) as a mode of scientific discourse—so that the works of human beings might not be lost to those of the gods and poetry.

38   For a modest interfaith comparison of the roles of women in soteriological traditions, see, in addition to the references to the role of women in Buddhism cited above, Lang (1982); and Brock and Harvey (2008).

world institutions that promoted sexuality, prostitution, concubinage, polyg-
amy, endogamy, and the levirate. Soteriological rhetoric advocated celibacy
above all but, short of that, unions between men and women that are based
on mutual love. It proscribes sexual activity except for procreation and abjures
relations based on sexual desire. It admonishes women to be submissive to
men, subservient to husbands, and meek and modest in their behavior. In so
doing it places limits on women's power, wealth, and influence in society in
the promotion of patriarchy.

For better or worse, the Buddhist soteriological conception of womanhood
seems to have made a profound impact on the lives of women in Mongolian
society. Ch. Atwood (2004: 491) suggests that women likely played a leading role
in the Mongols' Buddhist revival following the conversion of Altan Khan (1507–
1582) to the Dge lugs pa way in 1578. Yet the transformation of womanhood
wrought of the revival appears ostensibly to have lessened women's status.
Prior to the seventeenth century women's marriages were arranged for polit-
ical purposes. A woman could amass deep wealth and wield wide authority.
Should a woman's husband precede her in death, his estate could be retained
within the husband's lineage through levirate marriage. Women were not pro-
hibited from going into battle. They were not prohibited from positions of great
authority. A few even held regency over the entire nation. In short, they figured
prominently in history. After the seventeenth century, however, the levirate was
abandoned; women's power and wealth, authority and influence were dimin-
ished; and the mention of women in history all but disappeared.[39]

For comparison with the Buddhist, a few examples of like concepts of wom-
anhood in other soteriological traditions may be noted. As attested in the
code of purification in the Avestan *Vendīdād* (16) in Iranian Zoroastrianism,
for her body's menstruation, woman is deemed inherently impure and child-
birth, pollution (Darmesteter 1880: xcii–xciii, 181 ff.). In Christianity too woman
is deemed impure (Ephesians 5. 26). Repeatedly the New Testament calls for
wives to be submissive to their husbands (Eph. 5.22–33; 1 Pet. 3; Col. 3.18).
In Timothy (2.11–15) Paul draws on the ancient Hebrew Genesis to represent
woman as inferior to man so that he might logically demand submissiveness
in the Church. Woman must learn quietly, he says, and may not teach or exer-
cise authority over a man. Although from a modern perspective such language
suggests an effort to subjugate women, without apologizing for it, it is to be

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39   This dramatic change in the status of women has been noted by several scholars. J. Elver-
     skog (2015) discusses the issue as a matter of Buddhist soteriology—in particular the
     rhetoric of hell.

remembered that it was made in a context of liberation whereby women were now being included among the religious community.

Although they share a view of women as inherently impure and inferior to men, Christianity and Buddhism nonetheless champion the salvation of women and mitigate gender bias in similar ways.[40] In Timothy (2.11–15), despite requiring submissiveness, Paul grants that women too "may attain salvation through bearing children and living in faith and love and holiness, with modesty." In the manner of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (7), Galatians (3.28) teaches a universal salvation that transcends gender: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." In Ephesians (5.31) unity of male and female exists also in marriage, as, as in the mystery of Buddhist tantra, in mutual love husband and wife become one flesh. As in Buddhism, Christianity (Lk. 14.25; 1 Cor. 7.32–34) extols celibacy as the way to free oneself of earthly needs, especially the need to support a spouse and family, and so pursue salvation. Yet 1 Timothy (3.2) also extols monogamy and, in a passage (4.1–4) important for tracing the development of the soteriological movement internationally, attacks Gnostic teachings of extreme asceticism and celibacy that prohibit marriage altogether.[41] In Laws (6.781, 783a–b, 804e) and Republic (5.451) Plato anticipates Buddhist dharma when he teaches that the cause of all suffering is desire and that the greatest of all sufferings is caused by desire for sex. He anticipates the dharma again in his doctrine of transmigration. In Timeaus (42a–b) he teaches that creation holds three distinct "races," man, woman, and animal. Of these, superior souls belong to men. If a man lives righteously during his appointed time on earth, at death he returns to dwell in his native star. If he lives immorally, however, at his second birth his soul passes into the body of a woman from whence, if he does not desist from evil, he will eventually be changed into a brute (2002: 1170–1171).

From Plato's passage on transmigration it would seem that, although salvation might be attained eventually by one of any of the three "races," salvation itself has masculine gender. That the concept might have gender would not be unusual. In the old world gender was ascribed to all things, to natural dualities such as sun and moon, light and dark, and so on and to seemingly neutral things as well. (This gendering of the world was reflected, of course, even in some languages' grammar). That salvation through resurrection might have masculine gender in particular would not be unusual either. In Christianity, too, though

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40   For a comparison of the role of women in Buddhism and Christianity, see Lang (1982).

41   Darmesteter (1880: xli) notes that Christians (as well as Buddhists) extol celibacy but do not go so far as Mani did as to forbid marriage.

women can be saved as well as men, salvation through resurrection is masculine.[42] One sees salvation's gender in Jesus' teaching on resurrection in the synoptic gospels (Lk. 20.34–38; Mt. 22.23–33; Mk. 12.18–27). Here Sadduccees, who deny resurrection, challenge Jesus by posing a question concerning the Hebrew tradition of the levirate, "if by chance a woman became wife to each of seven brothers, in the resurrection to whom would she belong?" To this Jesus replies, "The sons … worthy to attain … resurrection from the dead [do not] marry … they are equal to angels and are sons of God" (Luke 20.34–38).

In addition to its masculine gender, note the nature of resurrection in this passage. Should the term "angel" in the synoptic gospels be consubstantial with stars, this would not be unusual. In Revelation (1.20) seven stars are seven angels of Seven Churches. In 1 Enoch (86.1; 88.3) bad angels are stars fallen from heaven (Black 1985: 73–74).[43] If so, then resurrection in the New Testament would be a matter of astral allegory. And this would not be unusual either. In ancient Egypt resurrection is matter of the Great Mother goddess, Nut, the sky, delivering the soul of the deceased from her womb, the unseen realm of the *duat*, to be reborn as a star (Assmann 2005: 170). Note too that resurrection for Plato (above) unambiguously manifests astral allegory. In Zoroastrian tradition, whereas the souls of the wicked are left to sleep on in death, the souls of the righteous hear the voice of fire and are resurrected with the dawn (Darmesteter 1883: 322–323). They go out first into fire, then into the heavens (West 1880: 341–342). In Daniel (12.2) souls of the dead sleeping in the dust of the earth in resurrection will shine like the brightness of the firmament, like stars.

Thus it would seem that at the outset of the Christian movement, as in the founding of the soteriological movement internationally, the concept "resurrection from the dead" was a function of the symmetry between heaven and earth inherent in establishing orientation in space and time. In a context of symmetry, resurrection from the dead was nothing new. Aristocratic governments, in particular the pharaohs of Egypt, had been relying on it for millennia. For the soteriological movement the challenge to bringing about the resurrection of the dead was a matter of politics. In sanctioning all dead a place in heaven, what the soteriological movement set out to do was moralize or even democratize what had formerly been a privilege of the aristocracy and elite and thereby transform world order into something remarkably new.

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42   See also I Enoch (54.8) where that above heaven is masculine and below earth, feminine (Black 1985: 53).

43   See also Zatelli (1991: 93) and Job 38.7.

An additional conclusion to be drawn from these examples concerns the essence of womanhood. That resurrection be gendered and expressed allegorically makes of "woman" a polysemic term. In this polysemy what it means to be a woman living and breathing on the earth reflected what it means to be a woman in heaven. Moreover, as the government of heaven holds primacy over the government of earth, the primary meaning of "woman" is not 'woman' *per se* but, rather, her apotheosis in heaven.

In heaven, from one people to another, women abound. In Egypt, the goddess Hathor, depicted as a celestial cow, represents the vault of heaven. Her four limbs, as the four seasonal nodes planted in the four directions, serve as the pillars of heaven. Older than she and interrelated with her is Nut, the night sky. A cruel mother, from her womb, the unseen *duat*, she gives birth to children—the stars and sun, Re—in the east only to devour them as they wander into her giant mouth in the west (McGill 2008; Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 42–82; Clagett 1989: v.1, 263–296).[44]

An especially prominent celestial woman was the Akkadian goddess Ishtar. In her mythos Ishtar is Queen of Heaven, a goddess of glorious celestial beauty. She symbolizes intense passion, manifest both in love and warfare. In love she is the goddess of sexuality and possesses strong powers of sexual attraction. She is patroness of courtesans and prostitutes and independent women who bear no children. Conversely, as Queen of Heaven she represents not only the queenship but motherhood as well. As goddess of sexual desire she remains unsatisfied with her many lovers and habitually claims to be "injured" or "insulted" by them (van der Toorn 1999: 451ff.). In *Epic of Gilgamesh* Ishtar plays the part of antagonist. Sitting on her throne seated among the abode of the gods atop a sacred cedar mountain, the hero Gilgamesh, having reached the mountain's summit, dresses in his finest robes and approaches her. When Ishtar sees him she immediately wants him for her husband and promises to harness for him a chariot of lapis and gold. But Gilgamesh turns on her. He defames her with nine epithets and chides her for her promiscuity, recounting her seven lovers, especially Tammuz, the lover of her youth, whom she leaves wailing for her year after year. Offended, Ishtar demands Anu, her father, the circumpolar sky, release of the Bull of Heaven which she intends to use to kill Gilgamesh. She threatens that if he refuses she will raise up the dead to consume the food of the living. Her father, though worried that to free the bull might lead to seven years of drought, gives in to Ishtar, who sends the bull to attack Gilgamesh. But

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44   Furthermore, the twelve hours of the night are assigned divisions of her body. The tenth
      hour is said to be her vulva (Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 82).

Gilgamesh slays the Bull of Heaven leaving Ishtar to assemble her coterie of nubile maidens and temple harlots for mourning (Pritchard 1969: 82–85).

Ishtar's role in *Epic of Gilgamesh* manifests the text's underlying allegory of cosmic creation, destruction, and renewal over the course of a year's time (Horowitz 1998: 96–106). In the *Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld* Ishtar's allegory refers to a specific seasonal phenomenon.[45] Though generally glorious in heaven, she yearly comes to be defiled. Stripped of the ornaments of her beautiful toilet she descends through seven gates of hell—personified as lovers—only to have her fineries returned to her on her ascent (Pritchard 1969: 106–109). The impassioned relationship between her and her lovers is tied to fertility and associated seasons and rites thereof. In her glory Ishtar brings seasonal rains, but in defilement harbingers drought and desolation. The season of Ishtar's descent coincided with harvest-time and fell in conjunction with the New Year Akitu Festival on the first day of Nisan (March–April) and lasted twelve days (Pinker 2005: 97; Sommer 2000: 85 n. 17; Black 1981: 42).

In the celestial sphere Ishtar is known to personify Venus and the stars of Virgo, in particular, its principal star, Spica (van der Toorn 1999: 452; Boyce 1982: 205). Beyond these facile associations Ishtar's role as a celestial influence was far reaching and difficult to specify or reconstruct (Langdon 1914: 96 ff.). In the Neo-Assyrian *Enuma Anu Enlil* she personifies the omens of stars and planets generally (Swerdlow 1998: 2; Hunger and Pingree 1999: 13).

Amorphous in heavenly function and earthly form both, Ishtar assumes boundless attributes and the qualities of innumerable goddesses. Her cult derived from that of Sumerian Inanna, and she was widely known internationally and identified with numerous foreign goddesses such as Zidonian Astarte, Egyptian Hathor and Isis, Hebrew Esther and Lilith, Greek Aphrodite, and Roman Venus (van der Toorn 1999: *passim*; Sugimoto 2014). Apotheosis of apotheoses, her name became common for goddesses in general (van der Toorn 1999:452). Her expansive attributes include binary oppositions: love and war, beauty and grotesque, youth and age, heaven and earth, heaven and hell, life and death, and male and female. One also finds sexual transformation; the contradictory existence of a virgin mother; and the "triple goddess," beautiful, young virgin, wise mother, and ugly crone (van der Toorn 1999: 452–456; Conway 1994: 59–61; Harris 1991).

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45   As G. von Rad states, "No matter how the details are to be taken," Ishtar's descent to the underworld "reflects the processes of the natural year" (2001: 111). For a general study of "dying and rising gods" in the ancient Near East, see Mettinger (2001).

This amorphousness makes establishing limits to her typology problematic. Yet in Ezekiel (16) in an allegory of Jerusalem as a harlot, the Lord's unfaithful wife, her presence is unmistakable: I made you beautiful, says the Lord. I bathed you and washed away your blood and anointed you with oil. I clothed you in fine cloths and decked you with beautiful ornaments and a crown. And your fame went forth among the nations because of your beauty. But you trusted in your beauty and played the harlot and lavished your harlotries on any passer-by. You gave away the gold and silver I had given you, says the Lord. You sacrificed your sons and daughters to be devoured. You built yourself a vaulted chamber and made yourself a lofty place in every square. You played the harlot with the Egyptians, Philistines, Assyrians, and Chaldeans. How lovesick is your heart! How brazen are your deeds! I will judge you and give you into the hand of your many lovers, and they shall throw down your vaulted chamber and break down your lofty places; they shall strip you of your clothes and take your finery and leave you naked.

It was against the likes of Hathor, Nut, and Ishtar that the various vehicles of the soteriological movement set out to transform womanhood. How they would go about this was predetermined by the strictures of the world order they inherited. These goddesses were not figments of the imagination. Nor were people at liberty not to worship them. They were part and parcel of the vault of heaven, no less real than the North Pole or the four directions or the horizon or the ecliptic or the equator or the moon, or Venus, or Spica, or the Milky Way. The very core of their being was universal, their functions, indispensable. Their place in the world was fixed in space and time and their influence brought to bear through the calendar and manifest in ritual practice and daily life.[46] In creating a new woman for the new order, soteriological vehicles could not but deal with the celestial apotheoses of the old world woman in some way. They did so in two common ways. On one hand, they took the female goddess types stitched into the fabric of the vault of heaven and refashioned them after the type of woman they sought to make manifest. On the other hand, they retained the ancient types only to damn them to perdition in hell. There they forged a new womanhood by enforcing the moral strictures of the new world order through "poetic justice."

Zoroastrians make Anāhitā apotheosis of womanhood. Goddess of waters, in scriptures dedicated to her, she is born of the wellspring of waters in heaven which flow down upon the earth. Her fountains atop a world mountain, the

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46   See the influence of Ishtar, for instance, on Babylonian, Semitic, and Zoroastrian menologies and calendars (Langdon 1935: 110–156, *passim*; Gray 1904: 196).

Hukairya, exist among the stars. Her waters flow down in the manner of other celestial rivers, the Ganges, Nile, and Euphrates, into the horizon, the earth-surrounding ocean, Vourukasha. Unlike earthly rivers, her waters cover the earth in its entirety, seven continents, and bring forth water in all seasons. They purify male semen, the female womb, and breast milk.[47] Imperial sponsorship of Anāhitā worship is first attested in a cuneiform inscription during the reign of Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358 BC). This being the era of her genesis is corroborated by sources which also mention that statues were erected to her in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana and that her worship was taught to Persians, Bactrians, and the peoples of Damascus and Sardis (Darmesteter 1883: 53). Together with Mithra she grants the emperor his legitimacy, which she does by way of heaven as personification of Venus (Choksy 1998: 661). Prior to the establishment of the Achaemenian dynasty Ishtar had served kings in this capacity. Persians co-opted the power of not only Ishtar but also other power-sharing goddesses such as Astarte, Aphrodite, and Artemis by worshipping Anāhitā syncretistically, i.e., as openly interrelated with them. Yet Achaemenids have their cake and eat it too by transforming Anāhitā's persona away from that of her predecessors. Anāhitā's very name, which means 'undefiled, immaculate,' demonstrates the bent to this transformation (Boyce 1989: 71–72). Likewise, the feminine deity Aši manifests the new order for women as the personification of piety. She sings praises to Zarathustra but rejects the offerings of all sterile people, old men, courtesans, and children (Darmesteter 1883: 270). Another theme from the old world Zoroastrians refashion is that of the virgin mother. Hereby, Zoroastrians prophecy that a woman named Vīspa.taurvairī 'She who conquers all' will bath in a lake where the prophet Zoroaster's seed has been miraculously preserved and conceive the savior of the world, the Saošyant (Boyce 1984: 57–58).

   In Zoroastrian hell the cosmic apotheoses of old world womanhood are refashioned as well. Here, upon death the soul of a man travels towards the Chinvat Bridge, which passes over hell on its way to paradise in the highest heaven at the peak of Mt. Alborz. As he moves across the bridge he encounters a woman. She is his religion, his conscience, the sum of his deeds, good and evil. If he were righteous she comes in on a sweet breeze from the south, a maiden of divine beauty, fifteen years old, as fair as the fairest thing in the world. But if he had been evil she comes in on a foul-smelling north wind, a fiendishly ugly wrinkled old hag. The righteous soul is led away by his fair maiden across the

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47   See *Ābān Yast* [Hymn to the waters (Darmesteter 1883: 52–55)] and *Yasna* 65 (Mills 1887: 316–317).

bridge to Paradise, but if the soul of a man were wicked the bridge becomes wire thin, and he tumbles into hell (Darmesteter 1895: 219 with n. 3; 1883: 314–323, esp. 319 n. 1).

In terms of socially engineering the lives of women proper, whereas its heaven affords them no place except as the principal source of pleasure for men, Zoroastrian hell yawns for women. Here the woman who in life did not keep herself from fire and water during her menstruation in death eats filth from a bowl (Vahman 1986: 202); she who did not care properly for her period eats her own menstrual discharge (Vahman 1986: 213); she who committed adultery is suspended by her breasts while reptiles devour her body (Vahman 1986: 203); she who despised, cursed, abused, and quarreled with her husband has her tongue pulled out (Vahman 1986: 203); she who was unfaithful, always dissatisfied, and refused intercourse is hung upside down and prodded by the pricks of an iron-backed hedgehog (Vahman 1986: 212); she who became unlawfully pregnant and had an abortion goes hither and yon crying, hail and sleet falling upon her, her feet standing in molten copper (Vahman 1986: 210–211); and so on.

Christians take their apotheosis of womanhood from Mary. A less openly syncretistic being, Christians see her not only as a wholly independent persona but also ascribe her attributes not to a goddess at all but rather, a real woman. Still, this does not mean that she is not the one Christians use to replace the functions served by goddesses in existence prior to her inception or that these, her predecessors, bear no influence on her or leave no trace. Concerning Ishtar, for instance, *New Oxford Annotated Bible* commentary on Jeremiah (44.14–28) states that her cult was well-known in Hebrew tradition and persisted into Christian centuries when features of it were incorporated by the early Syrian church.[48] Over not only Ishtar but Zoroastrian Anāhitā and Egyptian Isis as well, Mary assumes the role of virgin mother. Over Anāhitā in particular she assumes the role of virgin mother of the Savior. And over both Anāhitā, as mother of Mithra, and Isis, as mother of Horus, she assumes the role of virgin mother of the sun and its season of triumph over darkness at the winter solstice (Swerdlow 1998:55–56). Her assumption of the allegorical image of Isis suckling her infant sage-king, Horus, is manifest in her appropriation of Isis' iconography (Lasareff 1938; Rubin 2009: 40–42). Her own assumption into heaven following her death is celebrated as a Church Holy Day (August 15). In the sky she assumes the personification of the constellation Virgo and its

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48   For the influence of Ishtar on Mary, see Warner (1976: 339–340).

principal star, Spica.[49] As such icons portray her adorned in Ishtar's raiment, heavenly robes of lapis blue, and holding, or in the vicinity of, a sheaf of wheat. In the sky she assumes Ishtar's title, the appellation Queen of Heaven. In *Revelation* (12.1–6) she appears as such in a portent: as a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.[50] In appropriating the Queen of Heaven moniker from Ishtar she utterly refashions the apotheosis of womanhood. Instead of sexuality, fertility, prostitution, physical beauty, passion, lust, and warfare, Mary comes to represent faith, hope, love, obedience, selfless devotion, chastity, and so on.

Whereas in heaven Ishtar is effaced in Christianity, in hell and poetry she abides. In Dante's *Inferno* (5.58–60), for instance, the Ishtar type is rendered in a humanized incarnation as Semiramis, the debauched, blood-thirsty wife of Ninus who comes to succeed him as ruler of ancient Babylon.[51] In John Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (1426), translated from the French (1330, 1335) of Guillaume de Dequileville, a character named "Old Venus" is of hideous mien and waylays unwary pilgrims (Lydgate 1973: 362–364). In Spenser's 1590 *Faerie Queen* (1.8.46–47) Duessa, the personification of falsehood, is a wicked witch, a beautiful maiden until which time she is stripped of her purple, royal robes and transfigured into a maimed, wrinkled hag.

As for Christian use of hell in social-engineering, in *Apocalypse of Peter* the woman who tempts men in life in death is hung by her hair (Gardiner 1989: 6). In *Apocalypse of Paul* the girl who defiles her virginity is girded with hot chains (Gardiner 1989: 39–40); and so on.

In Buddhism, among the numerous apotheoses of womanhood, by far the most prominent (in Mongolian Buddhism at least) is Tārā. Tārā's cult is first attested in northern India and Nepal in the sixth century. Her name presents a mystery. S. Beyer (1973: 6–7) finds it in a play on words in an early prose poem which he transcribes as follows: *bhiksuki 'va tardnuragaraktdmbaradhdrini bhagavati samdhya samadrsyata*. Here her name reflects a pun, a personal name, Tārā, and the word *tārā* 'star' (Monier-Williams 1899: 444). Together with another pun in *ambara* meaning either 'sky, ether' or 'garment' (Monier-Williams 1899: 83) the word for her name is read variously in the phrases "The Lady Twilight was seen devoted to the stars and clad in red sky as a Buddhist nun" or "The Lady Twilight was seen devoted to Tārā and clad in

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49   Shakespeare in *Titus Andronicus* (4.3.65) associates Mary with Virgo by the line, "Good boy, in Virgo's lap." See Allen (1963: 463).

50   For interpretations of the passage, see Beck (2004: 176); Bernstein (1996: 255–256).

51   For Semiramis' type as derived from goddesses including Ishtar, see Smith (1887: 304, 306–308).

red garments like a Buddhist nun" (Beyer 1973: 7).[52] Tārā, The Savioress, both sixteen-year-old virgin and mother, mothers all that is good, including buddhas and bodhisattvas. She is incarnate in every pious wife, in a woman's chastity and purity, and all good women. It is she who deigned to bring salvation to animate beings without changing her female gender but who nonetheless became a bodhisattva.[53]

A question exists as to whether or not the numerous parallels to be drawn between her and her virgin-mother counterparts in Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and the goddesses of Western Asia indicate active appropriation on the part of Buddhists or not. Although an answer exceeds the scope of this essay, it is worth noting that what it means if they do is a matter of perspective. Although it is typical to think of appropriation in terms of bringing something foreign into one's own world in acceptance of its influence, it may also be seen in terms of pushing one's own world out to enfold the foreign so as to impose one's influence upon it. When it comes to Tārā, the latter perspective might reflect that of the Mongols who, after all, refer to Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris as *Dara eke-yin keyid* [The temple of Mother Tārā].

Further examples of the Buddhist refashioning of womanhood include two sorts of queens. The "Gem-like Queen" is counted among the seven treasures of a king. Wife of the cakravartin, she is possessed of beauty and fragrance, calms spiritual agitation, delights the soul without stimulating lasciviousness, and takes care of the welfare of the state like a mother does her children (Beal 1970: 114–115). The preta-queen Hārītī is an ogress who, in the manner of Nut in Egypt, Typhon among the Greeks, and Ishtar in Mesopotamia, gave birth to children only to devour them. Until, that is, Buddha's compassion converts her, and she becomes the protectress of children (Waddell 1958: 99; Buswell and Lopez 2013: 345). Hārītī's example of Buddhist refashioning of womanhood is furthermore especially illustrative of the general way in which Buddhism takes amoral allegorical tropes expressing celestial orientation, symmetry between heaven and earth, and reforms them in the creation of a new world order. To know the allegorical tropes of cosmic symmetry is to see that Buddhism does this time and time again.

As for Buddhist hell, in its tracts the fire of love is said to be hell itself, hotter than real fire and in comparison all other fires are like ice (Matsunaga and

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52   I have modified Beyer's translation slightly.

53   Lopez (1997: 548). For research into Tārā's origin, see Dhavalikar (1963); and Sastry (2006); for her iconography, see Getty (1914: 103, 105); for rituals and recitations concerning her, see Waddell (1894); Blonay (1895); Wayman (1984); Lopez (1997); and Wilson (1986); for a concise reference, see Buswell and Lopez (2014: 895–896); and for a full study, Beyer (1973).

Matsunaga 1972: 89). As described by L. Waddell (1958: 92), in some Tibetan representations, at the entrance to hell on the banks of a river sits an old hag, likened by Waddell to "a sort of Proserpine," who strips off the clothes of new arrivals and sends condemned souls along their respective paths in accordance with the judgments against them.[54]

And as for "poetic justice," in the *Samghāta* 'Crowded' Hell denizens are punished for sexual indulgences and an improper, sinful attitude towards love. Here the sinner sees a beautiful woman sitting atop a tree with razors for leaves. Fool that he is, he begins to climb the tree, sliced to ribbons as he ascends. Yet, when he reaches the top he sees the object of his ardor standing on the ground. And so he descends. This action is repeated *ad infinitum* (Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1972: 87–88). In the Place of Painful Hair, a woman who had asked a monk for relations and then when he refuses threatens—in the manner of the wife of Hebrew Potiphar—to accuse him of rape, is punished by demons who flay her flesh with knives. The flesh grows back, but the demons repeat the process over and over. Fleeing her tormentors she beholds the monk whom she tempted. Rushing into his arms to embrace him the vision turns to searing flame. The chance of such a woman being born again as a human is said to be equal to the chance of a turtle floating on the vast ocean to happen to stick its head through a hole in a piece of driftwood. And still, if she does return to human state, she will be born an ugly hag with no parents or relatives, handicapped by the loss of an eye or ear, with a hare lip and ugly complexion (Matsunaga and Matsunaga 1972: 98).

As for "the scent of a woman" specifically, across the Eurasian breadth of allegorical literature on heaven and hell it recurs as a common theme. In *Epic of Gilgamesh*, when the offended Ishtar complains to her parents of Gilgamesh's abuses, she says, "Gilgamesh has heaped insults upon me! Gilgamesh has recounted my stinking deeds, my stench and my foulness."[55] In *Isaiah* (3.24) the Lord's judgment against the daughters of Zion states that "because they have been haughty and walked with outstretched necks glancing wantonly, the Lord will strip them of their finery and make them reek." In the Zoroastrian *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (9) at the Chinvat Bridge when the soul of the wicked meets his conscience in the form of a woman riding in on a cold north wind, she is "a naked whore, rotten, filthy, with crooked knees, projecting buttocks and spots,

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54   See also the Chinese *Sanbao taijian xia xiyang ji* 三寶太監下西洋記. Here the pilgrim Wang Ming meets a woman named Tan 貪 'cupidity'. She lived in the world for seven generations as a prostitute. To drink her tea a man forgets his home (Duyvendak 1952: 267–268).

55   Pritchard (1969: 82, 83–84). For Irnini as a form of Ishtar, see Pritchard (1969: 384).

like a reptile, most filthy and stinking" (Vahman 1986: 201). In *Purgatorio* (19.7–61) Dante encounters a woman in a dream. He will come to know her as *antica Strega* "the ancient Witch" (19.58). She is stammering, cross-eyed, splayfooted, with crippled hands and sickly pale complexion. Yet, as he gazes upon her she is transfigured into a comely, alluring maiden. She tells Dante that she is the sweet siren who beguiles mariners and beguiled Ulysses with her song. Those who come to her rarely leave, she says, *tanto son de piacere a sentir piena* "so much doth hearing me content them" (19.21). And she has enchanted Dante. That is, until Virgil rips open her garments laying bare her front and exposing her belly from which emanates a stench that awakens Dante from his delusion.[56]

Should this recurring theme—like other themes in the literature of heaven and hell—be allegorical, then "the scent of a woman" ought to pose a riddle. The supposition that it does is bolstered by the fact that a solution to the riddle may be found precisely where one would expect to find it: in the symmetry between heaven and earth. Here, whereas in heaven celestial women possess delightful fragrance, it is upon their descent into the earth that they emit a foul odor. On earth in mire, bog, swamp one finds a kind of ground that gives off a peculiar odor. Such earth has a putrescent smell caused by the decomposition of organic matter. It gives off methane gas and sometimes at night produces a light known as *ignis fatuus*. In Mongolian *намгийн хий* means 'marsh gas' or 'methane'. In Mesopotamian tradition the cult of Ishtar's Sumerian predecessor, Inanna, was centered in Uruk in the marshy bed of the Euphrates River. When, as Venus, Inanna descended into the netherworld she descended into bog. Inanna, the Lady of Heaven, is inextricably linked with Enki, Lord of the Earth. Enki, figured as a double-helix serpent, personifies marshland. His cult was centered in Eridu and his main temple, a ziggurat, located in the swamplands of the Euphrates. Furthermore, "marsh," as with "meadow," "pasture," "field," etc., was a common trope in astral science. In Greek tradition it is attested in the myth of the nine-headed Hydra, a constellation that haunts the swamps around Lake Lerna and carries a poison that makes their waters putrid. In ancient Egypt the marshes of heaven are located at the western entrance to the *duat* (Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 64). Here in symmetry between heaven and earth, both the souls of the dead and stars and constellations such as Orion abide in a womb, the womb at once of hell and Nut, the goddess of heaven. To enter this marsh is to enter a realm of stench,

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56   See also the figure of Duessa in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1.8.46) "whose secret filth good manners biddeth not be told" (1903: 149).

wherein the putrescent smell of earthly mire is likened to the smell of death and to the scent of a woman (Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 64–66; Assmann 2005: 164–175; Zandee 1960: 305).

Assuming an allegorical correspondence between scents of womb and marsh, how then does one interpret the phrase *ekener-eče sibtür ömekei* in the passage from *Oyin-i geyigülügči* cited above? That an allegorical reading is not to be excluded is indicated by a plurality of terms throughout the text which appear to function as tropes expressing symmetry between heaven and earth. Indeed the text's steeping of such tropes indicates that the text itself might be considered allegory. Allegory is manifest not only in this specific text but also in Buddhist soteriological literature generally. Furthermore, allegory is present in soteriological literature at the interfaith level pan-Eurasia such that it would seem that all faiths composed soteriological literature by drawing from the same deep, wide pool of ancient tropes.

Given the frequency of tropes in the text, one may arrive at an allegorical reading of the phrase in question merely from context. Yet an allegorical reading is corroborated by explicit, consistent, and emphatic use of allegory in reference to the womb throughout Buddhist discourse. As noted above, in *Garbhāvakrānrisūtra*, for instance, the womb is defined as "a filthy, putrid, blazing bog" (Kritzer 2014: 4, 51, 52, 53). This definition is repeated throughout the text and is used, moreover, in a polemical way in pursuit of a soteriological aim that overshadows clinical description—even in a text the main topic of which is physiology. What is more, the term "bog" in Indian discourse, which is rendered ultimately in Sanskrit by *paṅka* 'mud,' 'mire,' 'dirt,' 'clay' (Tib. *'dam*), has a hellish denotation in *paṅkaprabhā*, the name of one of seven divisions of hell wherein mud takes the place of light (Kritzer 2014: 53 n. 225; Monier Williams 1899: 574).

In an allegorical reading of the stanza in question, the term *saba*, which means 'womb' and 'matrix' but more generally, 'vessel' or any sort of container or receptacle (Lessing 1982: 653), in the phrase *eldeb burtaɣ-iyar dügürügsen saba* "womb filled with various sorts of filth" refers literally to the womb but allegorically to the world at large. Reference to the womb's scent *ekener-eče sibtür ömekei* "acrid putrescence from woman" refers allegorically to the smell of a bog—bog itself, of course, but also a bog metaphysical wherein celestial bodies go hidden within the confines of the walls of hell, and particularly a bog macrocosmic wherein the womb's scent refers to, as Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness* puts it, "the primeval smell of fecund earth."

Reading so, in answer to the stanza's question as to the origin of the body, it would seem that the text makes an allusive synecdoche. Whereas the origin of individual bodies is from the womb of a woman, the genesis of humanity at

large is from the womb of the earth. Should one wish to understand its nature, this genesis, the text tells us, comes of defilement born out in a putrescent rotting smell.

Likening the womb of a woman to the world at large must be one of the singularly most potent figures in human history. Perhaps timeless, universal, the figure of the womb as "Mother Earth" embodies the mystery of the omphalos that ties mankind with nature. Interestingly, in rendering the phrase *ekenereče sibtür ömekei* the translator of *Oyin-i geyigülügči* uses a term, *sibtür* 'acrid,' that perhaps parallels the stanza's apparent synecdoche and so reiterates the nesting way mankind's primordial interdependence with nature influences language. This word possibly shares the same passive root (*sibe*) as *siberi* 'foot odor, perspiration of the feet and hands' on the one hand and *siber* 'Siberia', i.e., 'densely overgrown marshland' on the other (Lessing 1989: 695; Norman 1978: 240).

What then does the possibility of an allegorical interpretation mean for the phrase's misogyny? It means that its pejorative reference to the vagina as foul smelling need not necessarily reflect an attitude towards women. Indeed, it means that woman proper is not, cannot possibly be, the slur's primary referent. Primarily, the phrase would seem to refer to the earth's fecundity, and its misogyny, reflect instead an attitude towards contemporary world order, a world of violently promulgated aristocratic governments, amoral and imperfect symmetry between heaven and earth, and the sorrow-inducing mutability of nature itself. The suffering born of this fecundity constitutes that which Buddhism renounces and its soteriology sets out to transcend. That this misogyny does not reflect an attitude towards woman proper is furthermore indicated by its variance with both the ultimate aim of Buddhist soteriology which is to liberate all sentient beings irrespective of gender and the basic tone of Buddhist rhetoric which is compassionate.

Rather, an allegorical interpretation of the phrase suggests that its misogyny results from a rhetorical conundrum. In allegory a woman's womb is one-in-being with the physical world at large. There was no way to separate the two.[57] Also in the world inherited by Buddhists there was no way to ignore gender as a supra-organizing principle. It existed in the difference between sun and moon, day and night, light and dark, all binary opposition. These disparate and anti-

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[57]   In Egyptian tradition the centrality of the womb to the entire universe as source of life, death, and resurrection is manifest (Assmann 2005: 164–175); likewise in ancient Mesopotamia (Horowitz 2003); and in Vedic India the womb of Aditi is said to be limitless in its cosmic enfolding (Kramrisch 1975: 249).

thetical meanings to woman and her womb put the rhetoric of Buddhist sote-riology at cross purposes with its soteriological aim. In renouncing the world there was no way but to abjure the womb. Thus, paradoxically, for the sake of saving women, Buddhist rhetoric could not but attack her, that is, her tropes. In this context, caveats that woman cannot be saved without either being reborn as, or transformed into, a man need not reflect an attitude towards women but rather may reflect an effort, albeit *ad hoc*, to include women in the promise of salvation despite the existence of gender constraints in language and culture. Likewise proscriptions against women becoming a Buddha or being born in a Pure Land need not reflect an attitude concerning women's salvation but rather, again, may reflect deference to gender. This is not to say that misogynistic rhetoric does not refer to women at all or that it has engendered no negative consequences. Rather, it is to say that the assumption that Buddhist rhetoric about women reflects an attitude towards women is too simplistic. As Buddhist scripture tends to represent women not in a literal way but allegorically, to take its rhetoric at face value distorts apprehension. The question of the Buddhist attitude towards women lies instead in the degree of equipoise held between diametrically opposing modes of discourse, literal and figurative, void-based and faith-based, as determined by political considerations in a given place and time.

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Some Aspects of the Language Usage of Darkhat and Oirat Female Shamans

Ágnes Birtalan

Introduction

The topic I am going to discuss below is concerned with the peculiarities of language usage of some female shamans in Mongolia, who have started their shamanic activities for a broader public simultaneously with the political turn in the early nineties. Their and partly also other informants' utterances will be examined in a linguistic frame of investigation focusing—among others— on the specific shamanic terminology and discussing the possible traces of a female language usage.

The below fragment from the interview with the Darkhat female shaman, Baljir (Balǰir) introduces in general the female shaman's true vocation from the end of the 20th century Mongolia, that is, how female shamans managed to be religious specialists and to keep the traditions of their ancestors. Such narratives contain first-hand information about an ancient tradition of religious views and offer excellent source material for linguistic examination as well.

> It didn't matter, I shamanised in any dwelling that asked me to shamanise. I shamanise in a dwelling that asks me 'Shamanise at our place.' If they say, 'Our child has become sick.', I go there. If a person has become sick, I go there, if one has suffered a loss, I go there. If there is a sickness, if one has fallen ill, I go there. [They] bring a horse for me. After I have gone there riding a horse, and after I have shamanised there, they ask me to make an offering to the *ongod*s and I make them slaughter a sheep and offer it to the *ongod*s. I do not do things so quickly. I shamanise slowly because I shamanise for peoples' benefit, as it has to be done. Directly […] I was [able] to recognise [everything] upon seeing. Oh, I knew that this man had done so, he was such a person, he thought so, he had become ill that way; now it is not so.

When I was young I had a marvellous ability (*šidtei*, Darkh. *šidtā*)[1] during shamanising, I could fulfil even the cursing of people who did evil—I thought so. This is really marvellous […] I knew within three years that on a certain day, in a certain month, in a certain year such a person, in such clothes would come. And what's more, I knew it within ten years. Such a person has the marvellous ability during shamanising. But now I cannot do it. But now, well, when a person is dying or is ill, I send him my blessing (Darkh. *öljīgō kxürgēd baenā*) and that is all. Apart from that, I cannot see and get to know each [person], I get to know them badly. [She smiled.] I used to get to know people down to their thoughts, when I looked at them. Oh, it was improper that people usually did not like shamans: 'This person [= the shaman] is such and such'. The *ongod*s in this cosmos—I think so— there is nothing similarly powerful to the *ongod*s; there is no such roughly attacking thing. Well, the Buddha is powerful. [But] does not reach [the *ongod*s'] features. The *ongod*s have more [magic] features and are better [than the Buddha]. All people who hate the *ongod*s are only half-men, get tired and will surely be attacked [by the *ongod*s].[2] How powerful the Buddha is, he cannot be seen [by a shaman]. The *ongod*s can be seen, and as beings to be seen, they definitely occupy the mind.[3]

My Fieldwork among the Mongolian Shamans in the 1990s

This paper concerns a discussion of the narrative stories of some Mongolian female shamans[4] as told by themselves or narrated by the members of their

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1   J. Colō, the senior researcher of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences commented on the expression as follows: *ayūlīn šidtē* lit. 'having the ability of [banishing] danger' and '[one who] has very good abilities'. Further the Khalkha, i. e. the Mongolian proper, the official language of the Republic of Mongolia (always on the first place, without special reference), Darkhat (Darkh.) and Oirat (Oir.) expressions are given in brackets. Written Mongolian form (Mong.) is also indicated if the context requires. The Mongolian proper names are given in English transcription and at the first occurrence I give the academic transcription of the Mongolian forms as well.

2   Darkh. *xagas-magas* 'half' in a derogatory form. Baljir also said about herself: she used to be only a 'half person' *xūnī xagas* when she did not accept the *ongod*s' call. The use of self-deprecatory expressions in female shamans' talk will be discussed below in detail.

3   Baljir Interview 1. 1992. For the original cf. the Appendix.

4   With 'Mongolian', I mean here female shamans who belong to either one of the following two Mongolian ethnic groups, among whom I carried out fieldwork, namely the Darkhats, who live in Khöwsgöl, the northernmost province of Mongolia, and certain groups of the Oirats

communities. Both human and spirit worlds (*ongod*s) are intertwined in these narratives, as the citation above shows. I will outline the framework of my field research on Mongolian shamanic practices in the 'pre-transitional', early 1990s, and early 'transitional' periods of the mid-1990s.[5] Thereby, I will focus on perceptions of shamanic abilities and the presence of a specific shamanic language usage and the traces of 'women's language' as used by female shamans in the Oirat language and the Darkhat dialect. Oirat[6] is an independent language also called western Mongolian which has several dialects spoken in Mongolia, Russia and China.[7] Although the linguistic classification of Darkhat is debatable, according to the most acceptable opinion it is a dialect of Khalkha, but has the properties of Buryat (Buryad) and Oirat as well (Sanžeev 1931, Gáspár 2005, Tuya—Tūl 2008.). Darkhat is spoken only in Khöwsgöl province. These are the only ones among the Mongolian languages that entail a distinct gender specific language used by both lay women and religious specialists. In the present article I will trace some characteristic properties of language usage as used in the narratives of female shamans about their own lives and also as told by other informants.

The paper is based on data from field research that has been carried out by my team and me, during our visits to various Mongolian ethnic groups since 1991 (the field work is continuous up to present days), when we started a systematic investigation of languages, dialects and various aspects of vernacular culture.[8] The start of this Expedition coincided with the beginning of political changes of democratisation in Mongolia. The research goals of the Expedition aimed at documenting the linguistic situation of Mongolian ethnic groups (in the first period that of the Darkhats and Oirats) and record materials on their language and on their culture, primarily the religious matters, folklore tradition

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(Bayat/Bayad and Dörwöt/Dörwöd) and Eljigen Khalkha (Eljigen Khalkha) who inhabit some districts of Uws province in Western Mongolia.

5 Here 'transitional' means the period when political changes started and opened free religious practice since 1991. For details, see below.

6 Often referred to as Oirad or Oyirad; on written and spoken Oirat in detail: Birtalan 2003, description of the language based on current field research: Cendē 2012.

7 On the peculiarities of Mongolian or Altai Oirat, cf. Rákos 2012. On the linguistic state of Oirat and our related field researches: Birtalan 2012.

8 Field research was organised by the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition (hereafter: Expedition) established by the Department of Inner Asian Studies, the Research Group for Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Language and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. On the activities, materials and results of the Expedition, see Birtalan 2008, 2012.

and material culture.[9] The events of the political turn (1991) not only opened the way for liberal religious practices, but also made possible the research of religious phenomena that were not in need of being kept in secret any more.

During the 20th century Mongolia has undergone a complex of political in many respects, social and cultural changes that has affected the traditional structures considerably. Starting in the 1920s with political persecution and suppression of any religious practices for the decades to follow, i.e. during the socialist period from the 1930s until the 1990s—only a few practicing shamans had survived, carrying out their rituals in secret and in isolation. In the beginning of the 1990s, we had the great opportunity to interview and work with some of these survivors in depth. Thus, it was to be expected that during the long period of prohibition, much of the previous ways in which folk religion and shamanism as well as Buddhism were practiced would have changed, as well as certain linguistic traits and dialect forms that are nowadays extinct. The events of the early 1990s opened up the opportunity for religious specialists—such as shamans, Buddhist monks, etc.—to practice their various activities freely, that is, without the prohibition or even any interference of the Mongolian state authorities or its administration. So when we started our field research at about the same time as the democratisation reforms, the data recorded showed not the different, modified later (end of 199s) form and new varieties of shamanic practices compared with those that were previously known. We began to build up a data-base and a text-corpus that preserved both the phenomena of an earlier stage of shamanic practice based on oral historical accounts and some shamanic and other ritual texts as well as present-day gradually modified practices at the time.

Female Shamans' Life Narratives as 'Shamanic Texts'

During our field research we recorded a large amount of folklore texts in different dialects, life narratives of old people who had been monks during the 1930s, narratives of shamans who were secretly active during the period of socialism, and various rituals texts and narratives about the shamanic and folk religious rituals performed by shamans or ordinary people as well. Being interested in the religious folklore material, I have dealt with numerous 'shamanic texts'. Over the years of my research I have developed a personal understand-

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ing of this concept, i.e., shamanic texts entail those known by heart or recited from sacred texts-genres—occasionally improvised *in situ*, but can also include the shamans' own life narratives, as well as any utterances, even those made in the course of their every-day activities. By this I mean that my informants could not free themselves from their shamanic being in their everyday life. This became evident in the way in which they used a certain terminology connected to shamanism. Their and their family members' behaviour, and their way of talking as well as what they talked about were impregnated with the shamanic comprehension. They strictly were following taboo prescriptions and talked about the presence of their 'ancestral spirits' i.e. the *ongon*s (also *ongod*s in plural)[10] even outside the rituals, constantly emphasising their strong belief in their vocation of helping people.

Numerous articles have been published about the achievements of this cooperative field research, primarily the publication of various text editions, i.e. philological transcriptions and translations with contextual explanations of oral testimony or written sources photocopied in the field, such as song-collections, and ritual texts in Mongolian and in Tibetan (e.g. Birtalan 1996, 2005, 2006, 2012, Birtalan—Sipos—J̌. Colō 2004, etc.). As our publications are predominantly based on a text-philological methodology, the first and most important step of processing the material has been the meticulous text elaboration of both oral records and written documents.

The corpus of the texts that I discuss in the present article consists of the life narratives as told by female shamans themselves in interviews as well as referred to during their ritual performances while in trance communicating with the spirit worlds. Also, narratives about them were collected from members of shamans' communities. An important point here is both the duality and co-existence of these communities within the shamans' lives, i.e. human world and spirits' realm. The shaman's human community consists of her family members, people living in the surrounding areas i.e. in the same or neighbouring districts and people who travelled from far away to visit her, possibly including people who are clients or journalists, and researchers but also people who just come to watch the ritual as an attraction. While the spirits are invoked during the rituals, 'they' may tell stories about the female shaman using their own speech, and may evaluate her in the song-texts that are recited in an altered state of consciousness by the performer herself. Concerning the spirits' language it is very similar to the language usage of the shamaness through whose mouth they talk.

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10   On the definition *ongon/ongod* and particularly on the Darkhat *ongon*s cf. Birtalan—Sipos—J̌. Colō 2004.

Mongolian Female Shamans in the 1990s

With regard to women practitioners of shamanism, we had the opportunity
to work with several female shamans from Darkhat, Oirat, Mongolian Buryat
and Khalkha ethnic groups. Here, I am going to focus on the activity of female
shamans who started their practice either long before the political changes
or at around that time, i.e. in the early 1990s. Both older and younger female
shamans of Darkhat and Oirat origin had been able to preserve the old tradi-
tions (at least until the mid-1990s) that became rapidly transformed during the
late nineties. Comparative studies with the field records of Sanžeev, Diószegi
and also other researchers from the first half of the 20th century prove this
statement. I argue that on the one hand, these changes came about due to a
relatively free religious environment and on the other hand, this happened due
to the influence of the Mongolian mass media that elevated some shamans
almost to the level of national celebrities.[11] While their oral corpus and lan-
guage usage have without doubt preserved abundant phenomena—such as the
mythological background, the ritual paraphernalia and the language usage that
existed before—globalisation changed the Mongolian cultural milieu and thus
the social context completely even more than the period of socialism. This was
gradual in comparison with the new tendencies.[12]

In this paper, I am building on my previous study of the Darkhat and Oirat
female shamans' life stories (Birtalan 2007) as well as on several articles
devoted to the analysis of their text-corpuses (including ritual texts, life nar-
ratives) and texts recorded from members of their families and their broader
community (Birtalan 2005, 2007). The female shamans I was working with in
the early 1990s are the famous Baljir (Balǰir) (Birtalan 2007: 73–77), the similarly
well-known Bayar (Birtalan 2007: 77–79), and her daughter Dsoldsayaa (Jol-
jayā) also called Khöörög (Xȫrög) (Birtalan 2007: 79–81), all of them of Darkhat

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11   Tuwānī (in my materials Tuwānā) Balǰir became famous all over Mongolia during the early
      1990s. She was visited by Mongolian and foreign scholars and shown in Mongolian mass
      media. She figures even in new Mongolian homepages devoted to shamanism: Cf. Dar-
      xadīn aldart udgan Tuwānī Balǰir [The famous Darkhat Shamaness, Tuwaanii Baljir].
      http://ganzolawyer.blog.gogo.mn/read/entry526068; also: http://tegri.mn/contents/
      detail/21. etc. Mongolian shamans practicing nowadays use the Internet widely for their
      purposes but this is out of the scope of the present paper.
12   Cf. the publications and CDs on these shamans' activity: Dejacques 1994, Dulam 1992,
      Pürew 1999 (despite its late issuing the publication contains materials from the previous
      decades).

origin, and Khükhenjii (Xüxenǰī) (Birtalan 2007: 82–83) of Uriankhai-Darkhat origin. Furthermore, I conducted some interviews with Chuluun (Čulūn) (Birtalan 2007: 83–84) and Amarjargal (Amarǰargal) (Birtalan 2007: 83–84) from Uws province. Chuluun's family came from Tuwa (she said they were Tuwinian Mongols, i.e. Oirats) while Amarjargal claims to be of Eljigen Khalkha (*elǰigin/elǰgen xalx*) origin, but belonged to the Oirat cultural milieu, among the Dörwöts and Bayats. With the exception of Khöörög, all of them started their shamanic activity before the political changes occurred in Mongolia in the early 1990s.[13] While the genres of the text corpuses recorded among the female shamans are different, they all pertain to their life stories. In particular, I was able to collect a larger corpus of invocations recorded in situ from Baljir and Bayar, a life narrative and shorter ritual texts from Chuluun, narratives and a few ritual texts recorded outside the ritual from Amarjargal and ritual texts outside of ritual from Khükhenjii, as well as a personal life narrative from Khöörög.[14]

Main Aspects and the Sources of the Linguistic Analysis of Shamanic Texts

Based on the oral records of these female shamans, I established an analysis model of the linguistic features focusing first of all on the following aspects common among all these different text types (i.e. ritual-texts, life narratives, and every-day utterances, ordinary talks):

1. The presence and frequency of use of vernacular and literary language.
2. The presence of honorific and non-honorific levels in the language usage, and the grammatical properties and vocabulary of honorific style.
3. The presence and frequency of appearance of the dialectal forms.
4. The presence and frequency of non-Mongolian utterances (i.e. traces of Turkic speaking Tuwinians in Darkhat or Oirat dialects); presence of xenoglossia or glossolalia (?).
5. Supposedly both dialects—the Darkhat and the variants of the Oirat—of my records still include some traces of the so-called 'women's language', i.e. a special usage of various levels of language (phonetics, morphology,

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13   For the particulars of the interviews with female shamans, cf. the Bibliography.
14   Mátyás Balogh, a colleague of mine recorded ritual texts from Khöörög, during the first decade of the 21st century, but this period is out of scope of my current topic.

syntax, intonation), therefore I tried to identify some of its characteristics by as specifics of women's language usage.

6.   As the female shamans are from the two distinct ethnic groups (the Dark-hats and the Oirats), the following question arose as well: Is their language use territory-specific or/and ethnically specific? Could any commonality be traced in the language use of female shamans (and also male shamans) with differing ethnic traditions and background despite their distance?

7.   Is it possible to ascertain whether a general shamanic 'slang' or 'sociolect' (the language usage of a particular social group of shamans) exists and is it gender-specific? And how does the use of a specific female shamanic language relate, possibly, to a particular social position that these female shamans maintain in comparison to their female colleagues from other ethnic groups and languages who do not use this gender-specific language?[15]

Concerning the levels of communication which account for the various text types, the following appear in my materials:

From the observer's point of view, the female shamans communicated with and addressed specifically the following groups:

1.1   her clients and members of her broader community
1.2   her family members
1.3   the spirits
1.4   the researcher

From the participant's observation point of view, the following communications happened with the researcher and:

2.1   the female (and also male) shaman
2.2   her (his) family members
2.3   her clients and members of her broader community.

In the following, I categorise the different narrative types of shamanic texts that are present among them:

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15   This aspect concerns the most recent times since lots of male and female shamans moved to Ulaanbaatar and established shamanic associations. I touched upon this problem in the article partly devoted to the shamanic slang (sociolect): Birtalan 2014.

1.   Self-narrative. In this type of text, the female shaman talks about herself answering the questions of the researchers. My preferred method was to interview them after a ritual was performed yet this was always depending on the female shamans' intention whether she was ready to talk or not (and obviously not disturbing her in the after-ritual activity). The family usually played an active part in these talks, helping my work by clarifying some of her sayings and asking additional questions to the female shaman, which served to illuminate some points or explain phenomena in greater detail.

2.   Narratives about the female shaman told by her family members or people who lived in the vicinity of the shaman's dwelling: husband, daughters, other relatives, people who arrived to participate in the rituals, people from neighbouring dwellings.

3.   Evaluations told by the spirits, i. e. are the spirits content with the performance, the shamans' behaviour, the ritual-circumstances, etc. These brief narrations are included in the ritual texts that are sung by the female shaman during the ritual in an altered state of consciousness (specifically in the invocations of Baljir and Bayar).

Some Aspects of Language Usage of Female Shamans

Below I demonstrate only some aspects of the possible linguistic analysis, namely the presence of the vocabulary of literary (Buddhist) origin, some properties of honorific and self-deprecatory vocabulary and the traces of dialectal forms and female language. A comprehensive examination of the shamanic language usage including female and male shamans will follow in a monograph devoted to the Darkhat and Oirat shamanism.

1   *An Example on the Presence of Literary Forms in Shamanic Texts*
Shamanic texts are a sacred oral sphere in which the written institutionalised religious traditions can leave a considerable impact. In the Mongolian context the written tradition is based on the Buddhist literature and Buddhist scriptures. Shamans who belong to the so-called 'yellow shamans', practice in a syncretic, Buddhicised way; their ritual texts share considerable traits with the written Buddhist tradition.[16] Some literary forms of narrative text types, such

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16   On the yellow shamans (*šarīn bȫ*, *šar jügīn bȫ* lit. 'yellow shaman, shamans of the yellow direction') cf. Rinchen 1984, Birtalan 2015. In this article I issued my field research materials

as invariable set phrases or expressions, also appear in self-narratives or in the everyday speech of black shamans whose tradition is less concerned with Buddhism. The black shamaness Baljir's self-narrative will serve as an example:

> You have become my disciple. I tell you, do not harm people; do not think improperly! **Help the six kinds of living beings that became mothers![17]**—He [i. e. her master-shaman] tells it [several times] until it is comprehended [by the disciple] and the master sips several times from his cup of milk and makes the disciple also drink …[18]

On the basis of the above fragment it is quite evident that—despite being a black shamaness—Baljir is aware of the Buddhist phenomena and tradition, and uses terms, such as the above one 'correctly'. These Buddhist terms became an integral phenomenon of the Mongolian Buddhicised folk religion and also of the shamanism regardless of the contradiction between this concept and the original shamanic comprehension of the world described by Pürew in detail on the basis of his long lasting field research (Pürew 1999: *passim*).

2   *Examples of Honorific and Self-Depreciating Language Usage: The Lexical and Grammatical Means of the Honorific/Self-Depreciatory Styles*

It is needless to emphasise how socially important is the honorific usage in any language. Although the known variants of written and oral Mongolian languages lack a whole system of an honorific style of the language, numerous grammatical means and vocabulary items are at the disposal of the speakers and writers to switch from the ordinary to the honorific level. The grammatical means are discussed by N. Poppe (1970) and the vocabulary by Pürewǰaw (1995), J̌agwaral (1976) and also by me (Birtalan 2014), among others.

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on the yellow shamanic practice and corrected some misinterpretations spread in the academic literature.

17   Darkh. *ekxe bolsan jurgān jüil* (*ex bolson jurgān jüilīn amitan*, Mong. *eke boluɣsan ǰirɣuɣan jüil-ün amitan*) lit. 'the six classes that became mothers'. The Buddhist comprehension of life refers to the six kinds of existence in *saṃsāra* who might have been and will become mothers during their rebirths. Cf. Nattier 1990. The expression appears in one of Baljir's *dūdlaga* 'invocations' as well (recorded 3 August 1993).

18   *Či nadă šäwidă orlā. Bi čamda kxelnē. Či kxündü mū yumu, bitgă mū sanǰi kxeǰ yowārā!* **Ekxĕ bolsaŋ jurgān jüeldü tuslārā!** *gine. Yostā negĕ uxāndă ortal kxeleǰ kxelǰ-l bagš ŏrŏ ayagatā sūgē kxed-kxed balgād-l šäwidă ūlganā …* Baljir Interview 1. 1992.

In all types of the above-mentioned narratives the honorific usage is manifested primarily in addressing and referring to subjects of all communicative levels mentioned above. E.g. the addressing of the spirits as mother, father, of the clients and the audience (including the researcher as well), using the terminology of kinship by calling them younger brothers, sisters, etc. In the following quotation Baljir talks about her *ongon*s:

> All of the *ongod*s are powerful, there are not any weak *ongod*s. Well actually, what kind of a question is it? I think, the *ongod*s are really powerful; I told you that I recognised that they were powerful. The most powerful *ongod*s are the respected **mothers and fathers** (Darkh. *īǰi, āw*). There is the 'One of the nine hollows of Dsönög' (Darkh. *Jönegīn yesen darānī yum*). The 'One of Iwed' (Darkh. *Iwdīn yum*) is powerful. I can say so. This year they entered me (Darkh. *ordak baesan*), they were the first [*ongod*s to enter me]. [They] are not the *ongod*s I called. There are not ordinary *ongod*s. Well, I cannot go around the world and be engaged in various matters. [But the *ongod*s] tell me about any kind of warfare, war, death, sickness, where it breaks out, they tell me the truth. I wonder about it very much.[19]

In almost all the life stories narrated by the female shamans whom I interviewed, they referred to themselves with self-deprecatory expressions, talking in a more than just humble way, as if they were not wholly aware of their capability of shamanising effectively. Baljir explained that whereas earlier she was able to solve problems, now she became old and was not capable any more of doing it. Indeed, however, she was quite successful and famous as being very efficacious in divination and curing sick people. Amarjargal was talking about herself with lots of doubt and even while she did everything to become an accepted shaman and her main aim was to "help people", she said about herself that she still had to learn a lot and was not well prepared yet. Baljir even used a degrading expression *xagas-magas* 'half (hu)man', when she talked about herself. This is an expression containing grammatical properties for self-

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19   *Bügdērē-l kxüčtē oŋyad, kxüčguē oŋyad giǰ baex-ū-dā. Yer-n', ene čini yū gisin asūltu we?*
      Bi oŋyad ikxě kxüčütē giǰ boddag, ünüxēr kxüčtēg medsnē kxelseŋ-šǔ. Xamgīn xüčtē oŋyad
      kxündü[*t*] *īǰi, āw baenā-dā. Jönegīn yesen darānī yum giǰ baenā. Iwdīn yumu giǰ kxüčütē*
      oŋyum baenā. Iŋgiǰ kxelǰ baeyā yum. Ene ǰil yūnī türǔndü nada barag ordak baesan. Minī
      dūdsan oŋyad biši. Xamāguē neg oŋyad biš. Odā bi yirtemčīg ergǔd yamar-č yumnār oroldōd
      čiadaxguē giǰ. Yamar daen daǰin, yamar ükxül öwčün bolū-l nada xā-č xelnē, ünün xelnē.
      Terīg-l bi ikx yaexād baeyā yum. Baljir Interview 2. 1993.

humiliation: the repetition of the same lexeme with a changed initial (usually *m-*) of the second member of the echo word has a degrading nuance.[20] Using the same grammatical means appeared in the talks of the sceptic members in the female shaman's community (evaluation): Khalkha *bȫ-mȫ* 'shaman of questionable quality'.[21]

Summing up, in comparison to the honorific style that is innate in self-narratives when shamans talk about their helping spirits and shaman-masters, when female shamans talk about themselves, they use self-deprecatory terms. The latter style follows the use of humble speech among the Mongols expressing social respect and a common ideology (on the common rules of this speech art, cf. Irvine 1992), the obligatory modesty of the speakers while talking about themselves—regardless of being a sacred or an ordinary person, a man or a woman. Yet, what is particularly obvious in female shamans' speeches is the self-deprecatory way that surpasses what would be commonly called humble or modest. This kind of language usage is just as noteworthy as the honorific style, and its social role needs further research.

3   *The Presence and Frequency of the Dialectal Forms and the Presence of a Specific Women's Language*

In the early 1990s, i.e. before the urbanisation among Mongolian pastoralists started, and while it was not common to travel much to other parts of the country and the mass media was not yet prevailing, I could observe the presence of certain dialectal forms in the speech of many of my informants.[22] I argue here that shamans who began their shamanic practice before the democratisation in secret and in isolation, hidden from the eyes of the administrative authorities who did not tolerate any form of shamanic rituals, both secrecy and isolation helped them to preserve their peculiar dialects and also the traces of the 'women's language'. Those of the Darkhat dialect were observable in the speech of Baljir and Bayar and to some extent of Khükhenjii (she left the Darkhat territory earlier and lived east of Lake Khöwsgöl). The presence of the dialectal forms of Oirat was recognisable when Chuluun and to a lesser extent

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20   Cf. *Generic Rhymes* in Janhunen 2012: 102–104; e.g. Khalkha *ačā-mačā* (from *ačā* 'bag') with the meaning of 'a bag of poorer quality'. According to Janhunen and also to my experience this nominal derivation can have the meaning of plurality as well.

21   Archive of the Expedition: many informants talk about Darkhat shamanism (Darkhat material. August 1992 tape-recordings).

22   On the peculiarities of contemporary Oirat dialects, cf. Birtalan 2012, Cendē 2012, Rákos 2012. Recent descriptive survey of the Darkhat: Gáspár 2005, a brief Darkhat dictionary Tuyā—Tūl 2008.

Amarjargal talked. These dialect forms differ considerably from the official language of the Republic of Mongolia, Khalkha (Janhunen 2012) or Mongolian proper.

While analysing the shamanic texts of various types, one finds that the longer self-narratives and stories as told by female shamans seemed to preserve most of the properties of their dialects. The use of dialectal forms was characteristic of the speech of the older generation, while the younger female shamans spoke a mixed language, a 'Khalkhaised' dialect. Amarjargal switched to Khalkha many times during our interviews. Concerning the male shamans, we worked with Kürlää (Xürel, Xürlē, Oir. Kürlǎ), Tenger, and Baljir (Balǰir),[23] for several reasons we do not have sufficient records to talk about their dialectal features in detail. Kürlää, the yellow shaman was not talkative, he just showed us his rituals, prayed to his deities, such as Sitātapatrā (Khalkha and Oir. Caɣan Šüxert, Mong. Čaɣan Sikürtü) in a 'pseudo-Tibetan' language.[24] The interview with Tenger could not be recorded on tape; it was only noted down. The shaman Baljir was originally the assistant of Bayar and we succeeded in conducting an interview with him before he became a shaman, but his talks showed less properties of Darkhat dialect.

However, the most interesting phenomenon in these shamanic texts used by female shamans themselves is the presence of the traces of the one-time documented 'women's language'. As the Oirat language and the Darkhat dialect are the ones among the Mongolian languages having gender specific language use, I tried to trace its properties in the narratives of female shamans and also other ordinary female informants.

Before demonstrating my material, I briefly summarise the main features of the women's language among the Oirats and Darkhats. The specific women's language of the Darkhats has been described already by Sanžeev in the early 1930s (Sanžeev 1931: 8–17).[25] He established the main features of the Darkhad women's language, such as the use of specific phonetics: e.g. stronger palatalisation, specific intonation and vocabulary. On the basis of our tape-records Csaba Gáspár issued an article on the traces of women's language still observable in the beginning of the 1990s (Gáspár 2003–2005 and 2005). Concerning

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23   A Darkhat shaman with the same name as the famous shamaness. He started his shamanic activity in the first decade of the 21st century.

24   He prayed similarly to the Buddhist Lamas' text recitation, however, his saying was not identifiable whether it was a real Tibetan or not; that is why I named it 'pseudo-Tibetan', i.e. sounding similarly, but not containing recognisable vocabulary.

25   The most current fieldwork based monograph on Oirat written by Cendē mentions the phenomenon, but does not add any new data to it (Cendē 2012: 58).

the Oirat, Pentti Aalto (Aalto 1959) described the use of the specific female vocabulary and phonetic means the Oirat women use (cf. also Birtalan 2003). The Oirat women's language usage is a kind of taboo language, i.e. it is used when addressing their male relatives, and is based—among others—on the avoidance of words, sounding similarly to male relatives' name.[26]

The presence of a peculiar gender-specific intonation was observable in the speech of Baljir, the oldest Darkhat female shaman at that time, and also in that of her daughters. While possibly women-specific expressions were present in the usage of the Oirat female shaman Chuluun, gender-specific grammatical properties were not detected among the younger generation. The women's language can have a specific morphology as well, but this was not observable in our records.

In the sample text below the female shaman Baljir talks about the persecution of the shamans in the twentieth century. I marked in bold type the markers of gender-specific language use.[27] It is interesting that features, similar to the Oirat in Darkhat are considered to be women-specific usage, such as the palatal *k* instead of *x* (cf. Khalkha *x*) in the front vocalic words, and the strong (!) palatalisation[28] of the velar vowels in the surroundings of 'i',[29] the lack of labial attraction (versus Khalkha labial attraction).

> There were a lot of [such] people. There was a shaman called Damba.[30]
> Shaman Damba's disciple was my master called Sandag.[31] There was a yel-

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26   On the avoidance of names and other words in the 19th century Kalmyk: cf. Birtalan 2011:
      141–142.

27   NB! The characteristic features described above do not appear in all expected positions
      which might be explained as the influence of Khalkha language-environment. Many
      youngs and girls from the younger generation in Baljir's camp studied in district and
      province centres and spoke a considerably Khalkhaised language.

28   The palatialisation (stronger than in the Khalkha) was traceable in the men's languages
      usage as well. In fact we have to revise our materials again and study them especially from
      this point of view to give a more satisfactory answer whether the linguistic means were
      indeed the properties of women's language in the current language usage or the features
      mentioned as women language markers in the 1930s by Sanžeev became common, regard-
      less of gender.

29   In detail cf. the chart in Gáspár's article 2005: 234.

30   Shaman Damba of the Manjaarag (Manǰārag) clan lived at the beginning of the 20th
      century and was arrested in 1938. He was famous for being able to command very strong,
      powerful black *ongon*s (*xartai ongod*). He committed suicide with a gun, but instead of
      dying he recovered from a serious illness. (Pürew 1999: 137, *passim*).

31   Baljir's master, called in other sources as Sandiw (Pürew 1999: 289; Dulam 1992: 14).

low shaman, called shaman Dösh.[32] That person did not have disciples.[33] He was a very good shaman and was caught [by the state authorities]. There was a shaman called Demchig,[34] who was caught. Who [else] was there? There were a lot of people, they were caught. They certainly died. All the shamans were caught and executed, weren't they? If one was a shaman, he was executed. All of them. I lived during the revolutionary régime; nowadays I just want to live [in peace]. Our revolutionary régime was ferocious, executed all the people.[35]

*Olon-l **kx**üm baesan. Damba jaeran giǐ baesan. Damba jaeraŋgīn šaw' manā bagš Sandag jaeran giǐ baesan. Döš jaeraŋ giǐ negě šarǎ bō̌ baesan. Terě **kx**üm bō̌lūlǎgüē. Tun saen bō̌ baesan **bä**rigdād-l yowsan-dā. Demčig jaeraŋ giǐ baesan, terě **bä**rigdād yowčisan. **Kx**em baelǟ, olon ulus baesǟm barigdǟd yowčisan. Ü**kx**süm baexgüē-l. Danda bō̌ yum-čin' **bä**riǐ awǎčāl **kx**iadād baesīm güē yū? Bō̌-l giwil bügdīn šidǟd xayačisan. Xü**w**isxaltǎ törīn üyüd bi **ä**mid yowsār baeɣād, ön**ā**där **kx**ürtül iŋgiǐ sūmar bolǐ baeɣā yumu. Manā xü**w**isxaltā törö dānč ninǐiggüē xamug ulusā **kx**iadsār baeɣād.*

Describing the Oirat women's language, Aalto gave examples on the phonetic variants of particular expressions that were 'distorted' or rather transformed in the way in which women used it at the time (late fifties). As it has been mentioned above, this concerns first of all the vocabulary resembling their male relatives' names. I agree with those researchers who stated that as many women's language variants exist,[36] as many speakers there are, since they should formulate their speech according to the particular situation they live in. However, I think that I am able to identify some gender-specific properties in Chuluun's language usage. Hypothetically, I suppose that the way in which she used her language some of the terms belonging to the sacred spheres could be specific taboo words. As I have never recorded these lexemes in this form from another informant and there is no parallel material on Oirat shamanism from this territory, I can only cautiously presume that they belong to the Oirat women's taboo language generally applicable to all Oirat women.[37] In the

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32   No further data are at our disposal about this shaman.

33   Khalkha, Darkh. *bō̌lūlǎgüē* lit. 'did not make [anybody] shamanise'.

34   No further data are at our disposal about this shaman.

35   Baljir Interview 1. 1992.

36   E.g. on linguistic avoidance beyond the Mongolian areas: Finlayson 2002.

37   Although here in this case one cannot talk about the avoidance of male relatives' names.

sample text below, Chuluun uses a special form for the local spirit (Mong. *sibdeg*, Khalkha *šiwdeg* from Tib. *gzhi bdag*).[38] With some reservation, this could be comprehended as a taboo word used specifically by her. NB! In the same fragment the expression appears in its proper and correct way as it is widely used, in Oirat *šiwdg*, and in Khalkha *šiwdeg*.

> There are many reasons why the spirits get angry. [...] The Mongols used to believe since early times in spirits, offered things to them, but now they do not believe either in local spirits, or in lords of territories. That is why they get furious. People do not behave themselves properly. There are many bad intentions. Now, [this storm] was caused by the fury of the spirits.

> *Sawdag yanj bürīn yumnās ūrlnā. [...] Ā in manā mongolčūd irt dēr üyēs sabdag* **šiwdr** [sic!] *süteǰ, taxiǰi irsn odō üyid bol tīm bãxgüi, sawdag* **šiwdrī** [sic!] *sütdeggüi. Tīm učrās ūrlǰ kilinglnē. Xün ämitn yanj bürīn āš gargaǰ, yanj bürīn bodl törǰ, in odā sawdag* **šiwdgīn** [sic!] *kiling bolǰagā.*[39]

Another specific expression of taboo language was used by Chuluun, when she talked about shamans' altered state of consciousness: Oir. *galzūrna/galjūrna* lit. 'one becomes mad'. The commonly, but not exclusively, used term for this phenomenon is the *ongod or-* 'the spirit(s) enter [into the human body]'. This essential word of shamanic practice and its variants among other Mongolian ethnic groups was discussed by me in another article (Birtalan 2014). This expression, however, is probably only a kind of taboo word and not part of the women's language usage, and is an interesting *hapax* in my materials.

Summing up, the dialect forms—not surprisingly—characterise the use of language among the older generation of female shamans, but occasionally might appear in the speech of younger shamanesses as well. Similarly, the older generation still kept traces of a specific women's language and their usage of a taboo language (or terms?), once characteristic of their dialect is disappearing currently.

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38   On the phenomenon and its religious context: cf. Birtalan 2001: 991, 1029, 1040.
39   Chuluun Interview 1. 1992.

Concluding Remarks

In another study of mine (Birtalan 2014) I also examined some specifics of language usage of Darkhat and Oirat female shamans I worked with; namely the vocabulary of shamanising and the xenoglossia (glossolalia). In the present article I offered the examination of three aspects of the language usage of female shamans: the literary vocabulary, the vocabulary and grammar of the honorific language and the possible traces of women's language in dialectal context.

In the 1990s and during the first years of the 21st century the female shamans I worked with represented two distinct generations. The older generation was the guardian of the old tradition kept secretly during Mongolian socialism, when religions were oppressed. While the representatives of the new generation based their rituals on the older tradition, but they also introduced extensive innovations into their system, also with regard to language use. The corpus of oral testimony recorded from the female shamans and comments on their lives and persona by family and community members offers the possibility of multilateral studies involving serial approaches. In the present paper I have offered an examination of life narratives as linguistic sources, which focus on such peculiarities of the female shamans' language usage as among others the honorific aspects, the presence of dialectal forms and the presence of women's language.

Appendix

Xamāgüe, bŏlǰ ögā̆č gesen äeldä bŏlǰ baewā. Manaed bŏlǰ ögā̆či gisin aeld-l bŏlnā̆. Manā kxŭkxüd orādǰā̆lā̆ baenä gewül očnā. Xün orālā̆ giwŭl očnā garja garlā̆ gixid očno. Öbčün bollā̆, öbdlā̆ giwūl bi-l očnā. Mor' awāl irnē. Mor'-n' unǰ očāl bŏlǰ ögā̆l, oŋyad täkxā̆d ög gewül, xonī-n' alūl takxilgīn kigā̆d ögnā̆. Bi tīm xurdan, tīm yum xīdeggüä. Bī bol arā̆xǰ bŏläxdā̆ yāyād-č xündü tusad-n' yosār bŏldäk. Šūd [...] darū xarā-l tänǰ-l baesīm dā. Ā enĕ kxün tegsen xüm baenā, tīm kxüm baenā gidgīg, tīm yum bodoǰ yownā̆, tegeǰ öwdäǰ baeyāg bi meddeg-l baelā̆, odā bol baexguē-l-dā. Nasa jalū baeyād bŏlsän darūdā̆ ayūlīn šidtā̆ ayaguē bol mū yum xīsen xümīg xarāxnā̆ č bütdüg baex giǰ boddīm-ā bi. Ünün aextar [...] tednī ödür, teden sarda tödön ǰildĕ tīm xün irex n'-ē, tīm xuwcastā̆ xüŋ irex-n'-ē gidgīg gurwun ǰil dotar-n' medēd-l baex. Ter baetuyā arwād ǰil dotarx'-n' medne. Tīm xün-čin' bŏlön darūdā̆ ayūlīn šidtē. Odō bol čidaxguē. Odō xarin yāxabdē tegēd xün üxüxe gēd öwčin yarād baexād öljīgŏ kxürgēd baenā, bolā-l baeyā yum. Ternā̆s biši neged negengüē xarǰi saen tänǰ čidaxguē, mū täninā. [She smiled.]

Xünī bodol sanāg, kxürtül tänāl baedīm-dā, xarǰ sūxud. E-dē enĕ čini īm xün yum baenā-dā geǰi xün-čin' yir-n' bŏg kxün üjdüggüä yowdag-n' burū baesan baedgīm. Oŋyod bol yerdō odon yürtöncüd—bi boddog yum—oŋyod šig kxüčütä yumu, mūxā daerdag kxüčütä yumu baexguē. Burxun yāxuw kxüčütē-l yum. Čianar güecāgüe baenā. Oŋyud bol ulum čianar nemēd axalǰi baenā. Oŋyud üjdüggüē yowsan ulus bolūl bügüd xagas-magas bolāl yadrāl nas-n' jāwal ejelǰ änā. Xečnān kxüčütä baenā, Burxan bol üjüldü oroxgüē baeyā-šūdē. Oŋyud-čin' bolūl üjüldü ornā, üjüldü orsār baeyād jāwul setgelīg ejelnā.

Primary Sources

Interviews (I do not refer in notes to all of the interviews, but they contain the essential data my analysis is built on.)

Amarjargal Interview 1. 1995. Interview with shamaness Amarǰargal made by Ágnes Birtalan, Uws province, Dzüünturuun district, 27 August 1995 (tape-recording)

Baljir Interview 1. 1992. Interview with shamaness Balǰir made by Ágnes Birtalan and O. Čulūnbātar, Khöwsgöl province, Bayandsürkh, district Baruun Agar 23 August 1992 (tape-recording)

Baljir Interview 2. 1993. Interview with shamaness Balǰir made by Ágnes Birtalan, Khöwsgöl province, Bayandsürkh district, Bambart 3 August 1993 (tape-recording)

Baljir Interview 3. 1997. Interview with shamaness Balǰir made by Ágnes Birtalan and J̌. Colō, Khöwsgöl province, Bayandsürkh district, Baruun Agar 21 August 1997 (tape-recording)

Bayar Interview 1993. Interview with shamaness Bayar and her assistant Balǰir made by Ágnes Birtalan, Khöwsgöl province, centre of Tsagaan Nuur district 3 August 1993 (tape-recording)

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Dsoldsayaa (Khöörög) Interview 2001. Interview with shamaness Joljayā (Xörög) made by J̌. Colō, Ulānbātar 13 January 2001 (field-notes)

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Some Remarks on Page Fragments of a Mongol Book of Taoist Content from Qaraqota

*Otgon Borjigin**

The publication of the splendid book, *Studies on the Mongolian Documents Found at Qaraqota* edited and published by Yoshida and Chimeddorji in 2008, made available for further investigation approximately 86 or more page fragments of Mongolian xylographs and manuscripts discovered in the ruins of Qaraqota by scholars of Gansu and Inner Mongolia during 1983 and 1984. Among these documents are some invaluable printed fragments including a page fragment of a xylographic book in square script, which was identified by Professor György Kara as a part of a Mongolian version of 'Phags-pa's *Shes-bya rab-gsal*, or *Medegdekün-i belgetey-e geyigülügči neretü šastir* in Mongolian,[1] and two main fragmentary leaves or four pages, with document numbers HF125a, HF125b, HF125c, and HF125d, of an illustrated xylographically printed book in Uighur-Mongolian script, which, as scholars observed, seems to be a Mongolian version of an unknown Chinese work of Taoist contents.[2] The latter fragmentary leaves which constitute the subject of the present paper is from Chapter Four, ff. 13a–14b, of the Mongolian text and, judging by their language and ductus, should be chronologically close to the fragments of the famous commentary on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* from 1312 found in Turfan. The text of the fragments is extremely fascinating not only because of its Taoist contents, but also because of its distinctive design. On the upper half of either side of each leaf or folio contains an illustration, which, on closer examination, appears to be thematically closely related to the text below it. The extant text also bears

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interlinear Chinese glosses for the Taoist terms and Chinese personal and place names that have appeared in the text. From these features, we can conclude that the Mongolian text was not an original work composed in Mongolian, but a translation. The main value of the document, therefore, lies in the fact that this is hitherto the only remainder of an early Mongolian translation of Chinese Taoist work. Although I have not yet succeeded in identifying the Chinese original, in the present paper, I shall endeavor to make a few marginal remarks upon the document from Qaraqota in question.

Description of the Text

The fragments are remains of two adjacent leaves from an oblong xylographic book with a text in Uighur-Mongolian script on both sides of each. Each page consists of two sections, one is the text itself which appears on the lower half of every page in a bold-thin double-lined frame and occupies approximately two thirds of the print space, and the other is an illustration which appears on the upper half of each page in the same frame within the remaining space and is separated from the text by the same doubled line as the frame.

Of the two leaves or folios, the first, i.e., the documents No.058/HF125d (Fig. 5.1) and No.057/HF125c (Fig. 5.2) in Yoshida & Chimeddorji, constitutes pages 13r and 13v of the original Mongolian book and only half of it is extant. No.058/HF125d is the ending part of 13r while No.057/ HF125c is the beginning of 13v, both of them bearing an extant text of nine lines. On 13r there is an additional line of words in a relatively reduced size found at the right-hand margin on the inner side of the text frame including the Chinese word *yue* 'moon', followed by, but with some space in between, the words *arban ɣurban* 'thirteen' which, in turn, followed by, but again with some space in between, the Chinese characters *shang shisan* 'upper, thirteen'. Similar chapter marker and pagination, as we well know, have been attested in the *Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir. There can, therefore, be little doubt that this side of the folio is the recto of the thirteenth folio of the fourth chapter or volume of the text. Of the extant lines on 13r, only the first has been almost entirely lost except for a genitive suffix *-un* or *-ün* and a word ending *-lar* or *-ler*, while the rest have been integrally preserved. Between lines 6 and 7 we have the interlinear Chinese gloss 宜陽 *yiyang* for *i-yang qoton* 'the city of Yiyang' in line 7 and between lines 7 and 8 we have 刘楫 *liuji* for *liu-si* 'Liu Ji' in line 8. The very person occurs several times in the text and on this page he is mentioned as a rich man in the city of Yiyang. These glosses, I think, may have been added at a later time for the convenience of readers. The illustration on this page has

been mutilated at the upper right-hand corner, but the general outline of the image is relatively clear. The figure shows a pair of man and woman sitting face to face on a *kang* bed, a heated sleeping platform made by bricks in Northern China, in a room, of which the man is sitting on the right side, wearing a robe and a long-winged Tang-Song-style official hat, while the woman sitting on the left dressed in women's robe and wearing a kind of headdress that has faded beyond recognition. According to the text on the same page, we can assume that the couple must be Liu Ji and his wife discussing how to redeem, through performing a meritorious deed, the souls of the deceased.

From the transcription and textual description of the document No.057/ HF125c on pp. 130–131 and its plate on p. 324 in Yoshida & Chimeddorji, it is evident that HF125c constituting page 13v contains a main fragment, i.e., HF125c-a, with remnants of 9 textual lines, and four-odd pieces of paper, i.e., HF125c-b, with or without words on them. Of the nine extant textual lines on HF125c-a, only the last has been mutilated while the rest remains intact and happens to be the direct continuation of the text on 13r. On this side of the folio, between the lines of the text, as in the case of 13r, Chinese glosses 孙真人 *sun zhenren* for *sun čin šin*, and 刘楫 *liuji* on one of the four small pieces. The chapter marker and pagination on 13v, or more precisely on HF125c-a, run as follows: *yue arban yurban xia shisan*, indicating the verso of the thirteenth folio of the fourth chapter or volume, but here they appear at the left-hand margin of the text. As for the illustration on this page, the upper left-hand corner and the ending part of it have been lost, which no doubt makes it more or less difficult for us to interpret the theme of the illustration as a whole. In this connection, however, as the textual part again drives the images, one can follow the writing and form the outline of the illustration through comparisons and analogies. On the right-hand side of the illustration there appears a person kneeling and bowing with the hands touching the ground, probably performing the *kowtow*, an act of deep respect in traditional Chinese culture, probably to the person who is, seemingly a Taoist priest according to his headdress, standing at the left-hand side of him accompanied by his follower, a figure in smaller size. On the left side of the illustration, there are two persons sitting face to face on a *kang* in a room, of which the person sitting on the right side, the side which is commonly regarded as the place of honor in both Chinese and Mongolian cultures, I guess, is a visitor and the very one who appears kneeling and bowing on the right-hand side of the same illustration and the person sitting on the left, I think, is the host and the very Taoist priest who appears standing with his follower on the right side of the illustration.

The text on 13r and 13v tells us a story which is to the effect that someone, presumably Sun *Zhenren*, the Taoist priest, had a dream in which the souls of

those who died in combat complained to him that they still had not attained salvation because no meritorious deeds were performed on their behalf. They said that a rich man named Liu Ji in the City of Yiyang, after the consultation with his wife, had engendered a thought of performing a meritorious deed in order to release them from hell and would come to beg Sun *Zhenren* at noon of the following day. They continued that if he, on some pretext, would not perform that meritorious deed, they then would not be able to attain salvation. After uttering those words, all of them disappeared. From the story related in the text, it is reasonable to assume that the Taoist priest in the illustration must be the said Sun *Zhenren* and the visitor who came to his house be Liu Ji.

The second leaf or folio, i.e., No.055/HF125a (Fig. 5.3) and No.056/HF125b (Fig. 5.4) in Yoshida & Chimeddorji, is the remains of pages 14r and 14v of the original text, or more accurately the right-hand upper corner of 14r and the left-hand upper corner of 14v, with remnants of 10 textual lines on 14r and 9 on 14v. Of the 10 extant lines on 14r, only the last remains almost completely. Between lines 1 and 2 on this page we find the interlinear Chinese gloss 楫 *ji* for *si* in line 2; between lines 2 and 3 we have 人 *ren* for *šin* in line 3; between lines 7 and 8 we have 真人 *zhenren* for *čin šin* in line 8; and between lines 8 and 9 we have 醮 *jiao* for *sau* 'offering' in line 9. As in the case of 13r, the chapter marker and pagination on 14r occur at the right-hand margin as *yue arban dörben shang shi[si]* to indicate the recto of the fourteenth folio of the fourth chapter or volume. In the illustration on this page, there are images of four Taoist priests. One is sitting behind a table with some stuffs on it while the rest are standing beside him, a statue of a deity with a halo around the head, in front of which there is a big table with offerings on it. Finally there are three lay persons kneeling and praying to the statue and some hanging banners in the form of Chinese knot or brass coin sword which is a ritual weapon used in Taoist ceremonies. It is clear, from the description in the text, that the illustration is a picture of the central part of the liturgical program in the *jiao* 'offering' or 'sacrifice' ceremony performed by Taoist priests, probably in a Taoist temple.

Of the 9 extant lines on 14v, only the first remains intact while the rest have been lost except for one word or two in each line. Between lines 5 and 6 there is the Chinese word *ren* for *šin* in line 6 and between lines 6 and 7 there are the Chinese words *liuji* for *liu si* in line 7. The chapter marker and pagination *yue arban dörben xia [shi si]*, indicating the verso of the fourteenth folio of the fourth chapter or volume, occur at the left-hand margin as in the case of 13v. In the text on 14r and 14v, we read the words *morin kölge[…]* (14r7) '[riding on] horseback?', […] *üdür sau buyan [üilde]gül[e]b[ei]* (14r9) 'let [a] *sau* merit [be performed] for […] days', *ɣurban üdür ɣuyilačin-ṯur* (14r10) *idegen lab ögčügü*

(14v1) 'Food and alms were given out to the beggars for three days', *tere on kei qur-a* [*kereg-tü čay-tur?*] *bolǰu* (14v1–3) 'that year, having engendered the wind and the rain [in time of necessity?]', and *tariyan* [*... tegüs?*] *sayin bolǰugu* (14v3–4) 'the grain was [completely?] good […]'. Accordingly, the illustration on this page describes the event of distributing food and alms to the beggars.

Synopsis of the Text

Although much of the text on these two fragmentary leaves or folios has been lost through mutilation, we can, based on the remaining lines, speculate and summarize the rough idea of the narrative as follows: According to the suggestion of a rich man named Liu Ji in the City of Yiyang (present-day Yiyang county in Henan province), the local community held a religious activity, i.e., the *jiao* liturgy, presided over by Sun *Zhenren* and other Taoist priests, which might be aimed to deal with a long drought in this area through feeding and salvation of the so-called *guhun yegui* 'wandering ghosts' who died in a certain battle. The ceremony was followed by an event, which lasted for three days, that food and alms were distributed to the beggars. Thanks to the activity, people in that area welcomed favorable weather and abundant harvests that year.

In the first volume of *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* edited by Fabrizio Pregadio, there is an entry called *jiao* 'offering' written by Poul Andersen, where we read:

> A final addition to the sequence of offerings included in the *jiao* liturgy was the ritual of Universal Salvation or *pudu*, which was borrowed from Buddhism, first incorporated during the Song dynasty, and concerned with the salvation and feeding of the lost souls suffering in hell, the so-called "orphaned souls" (*guhun* 孤魂). In most present-day ceremonies the *pudu* occurs at the very end of the program, in fact, quite commonly after the sending away of the gods that marks the end of the Taoist liturgy, properly speaking. It thus represents in a sense the most exoteric level of activity in a *jiao*, though it should be noted that in many local traditions there is a strong emphasis both on this *pudu* ritual and on other means of averting harm from the dangerous spirits of hell. […][3]

In Chapter Five or "Performing the Salvation Ritual" of her beautifully illustrated book, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*,

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3 See Pregadio (2008: 544).

Shi-shan Susan Huang, according to her "Table of Contents" posted on academia.edu, examines Taoist salvation rituals in detail. Unfortunately, I have not been able to access the full text of her book, and here I quote but a few lines related to the said Universal Salvation or *pudu* from Chapter Six of her book, which is also posted on academia.edu:

> The Festival of the Middle Prime, which honored the Official of earth and was observed on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, merged with the Buddhist Ghost Festival in the Tang and Song periods and became linked with ancestor worship. On this day, worshippers flocked to Daoist and Buddhist temples, wishing to release ghosts and ancestors from hell and help them to attain salvation. In Daoist temples, priests recited the Scripture of Salvation and presided over grand salvation banquets (*pudu jiao* 普度醮) in which food was distributed to all the wandering souls to help in achieving universal salvation.[4]

The ritual of Universal Salvation or *pudu* in the *jiao* liturgy thereof could, it seems to me, shed light on the identification of the original Chinese work. In this connection, Chen Guangen's viewpoint is pertinent, although I insist that the document is a translation. He argues:[5]

> Although the document has been seriously damaged and we cannot figure out its specific details, it seems, to judge by its language, wording and general contents, that it is not a Taoist canon translated from Chinese language, nor a literary work on a Taoist theme, but is more likely a Taoist salvation ritual relevant to people's everyday life.

A new examination of the mutilated folios carried out by a Mongolist in collaboration with an authority on Taoism might perhaps yield significant findings. But however significant the work may later yet prove to be, it is, at the very least, documentary proof that the Mongols of the Middle ages became acquainted with the Taoist salvation rituals.

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4   See Huang (2012: 299).
5   See Chen (2015: 127): "尽管文书已严重残损，我们无法搞清其具体内容，但从文书的行文、用词、大致内容来看，似乎并不是译自汉文的道教经典，也不是以道教为主题的文学作品， 更像是与人们现实生活有关的祈求解脱的道教斋醮仪轨。"

Punctuation and Orthography

In the extant text of this document, there are 5 complete sentences. The boundaries of these sentences are marked with *dang čeg* 'single dot', while the end of speech unit, i.e., the end of the Taoist salvation ritual, as mentioned above, is denoted with *dabqur čeg* 'double-dot', which occurs after the verb *ögčügü* (14v1). In one instance, the single dot occurs in the middle of sentence, after the words *manaɣar üdür düli* (13v3).

In the text, the initial and medial *n* is marked with a left-side single dot without exception, while the final *n* is marked with the dot only in the three words *ükügsed-üṉ* (13r2–3), *buyaṉ* (13v1), and *tegeṉ* (14v5). The letter *ɣ* is marked with a left-side double-dot except for the word *ɣurban* both in textual and pagination lines. In three instances the letter *q* is marked with a left-side double-dot, which occur in the words *qadq̄ulduɣan* (13r2), *toṉil[ɣ̄aq̄]u* (13v1), and *toṉilaq̄u* (13v7). The letter *š* occurs in the two words *šiltaɣalaǰu* (13v6) and *šin*, the Mongolian transcription for the Chinese *ren*, and is marked with a right-side double-stroke.

Transcription and Translation of the Text

The transcription which I here present is based on a reading of the text in Yoshida & Chimeddorji and that in the preliminary version of Professor György Kara's article "The Mongol Sources of the History of the Mongol Empire", in which Professor G. Kara has deciphered several words accurately.
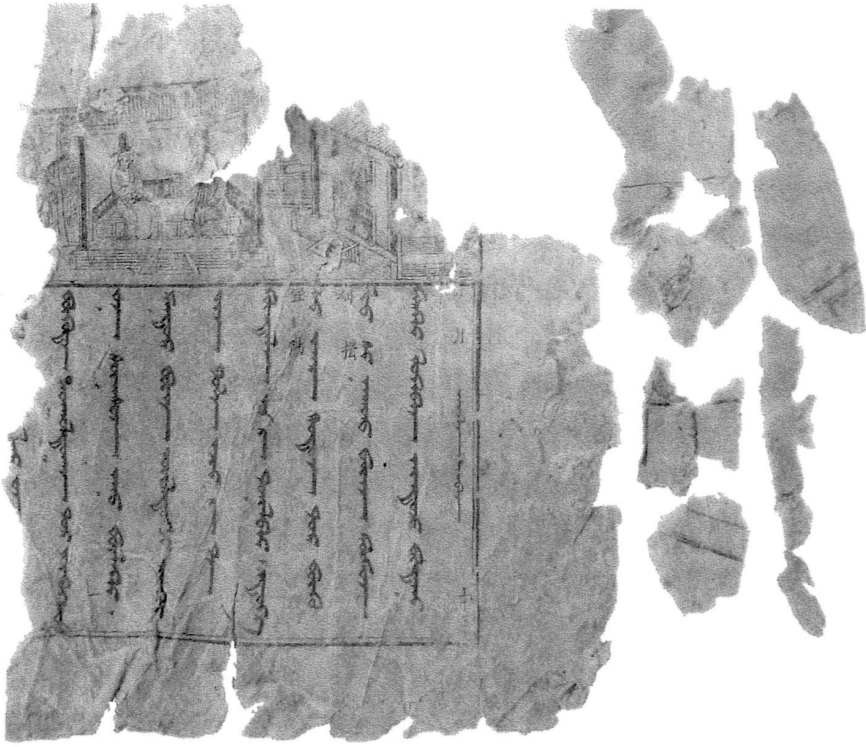
（No.058）文書番号HF125d

FIGURE 5.1 *Folio 13r. "yue arban ɣurban shang shisan," from Yoshida & Chimeddorji*

[13r]

[No. 058 / HF125d]

[1] [...]*L*[...]*L'R-WN* [...]

[2] *bügüde qadᵭulduɣan-ṯur ükügsed*

[3] *-üṉ süṉesün aṉu bülegei.*

[4] *maṉdur buyan üiledügči ügei*

[5] *-yin tula ejiy-e-ṯe*

[6] *kürtele es-e toṉilbai. edüge*

[7] 宜陽 *i yang qoton-ṯur bükü*

[8] 刘楫 *liu si ṉereṯü bayan kümün*

[9] *gergei-lügeben ᾳyedüjü bidaṉi*

[o] 月 *arban ɣurban* 上十三

[13r1–3] [...] all are the souls of those who died in combat.

[4–6] Since no one performed a meritorious deed on our behalf, [we] did not attain salvation until now.

[6–13v2] Now a rich man named Liu Ji in the city of Yiyang, consulting with his wife, has engendered a thought of performing a meritorious deed in order to release us from hell.
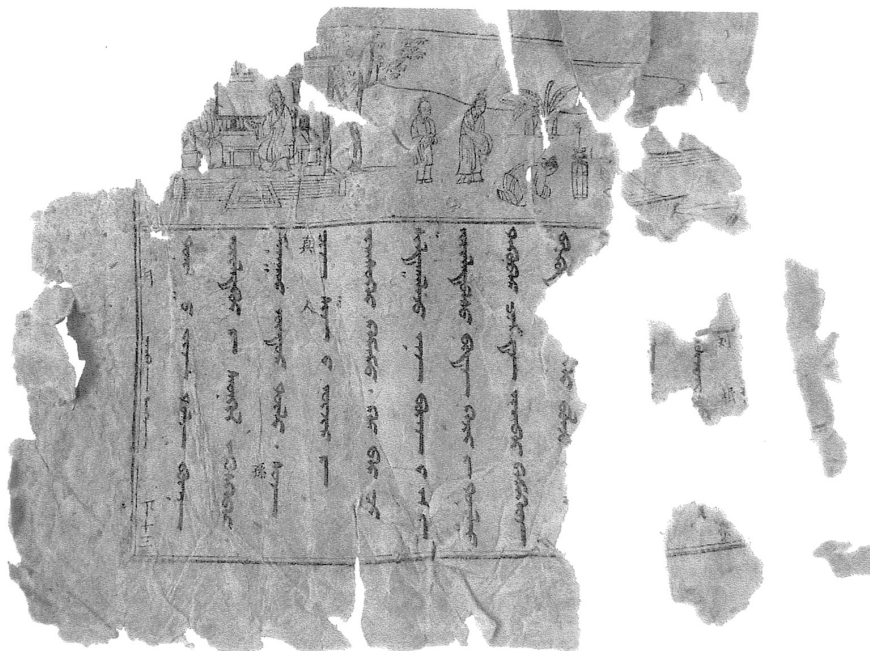
（No.057）文書番号HF125c 　　（口絵参照）

FIGURE 5.2 *Folio 13v. "*γue arban γurban xia shisan," *from Yoshida & Chimeddorji*

[13v]

[No. 057 HF125c-a]

[0]   月 *arban ɣurban* 下十三

[1]   *to̱nil[ɣaq̱]u-yin tula buya̱n*
[2]   *üile̱dküi-e sedkil egüskebei.*
[3]   *ma̱naɣar üdür düli.* 孫 *sun*   [3–5] He says he will come to beg Sun
[4]   真人 *čin šin-i öčir-e*   *Zhenren* tomorrow, at noon.
[5]   *iresügei kememü. ker ber či*   [5–7] If you, seeking a pretext, will not
[6]   *šiltaɣalaǰu e̱ne buyan-i es-e*   perform this meritorious deed, when
[7]   *üile̱dbesü bida keǰiye to̱nilaq̱u.*   could we then be able to attain salvation.
[8]   *tegüber čimada irebei kemeged*   [8–9] Because of this, we have come to
[9]   *bügüd[e ü]gei bolǰu* [...]   you. After uttering these words, they all
[...]   [disappeared ...]

[No. 057 HF125c-b]

[01] [...]   [01] [...]
      [...]   [...]
[02] *küčündür* [...]   [02] by the strength of [...]
      [...]   [...]
[03] 刘楫 [*liu si* ...]   [03] Liu Ji [...]
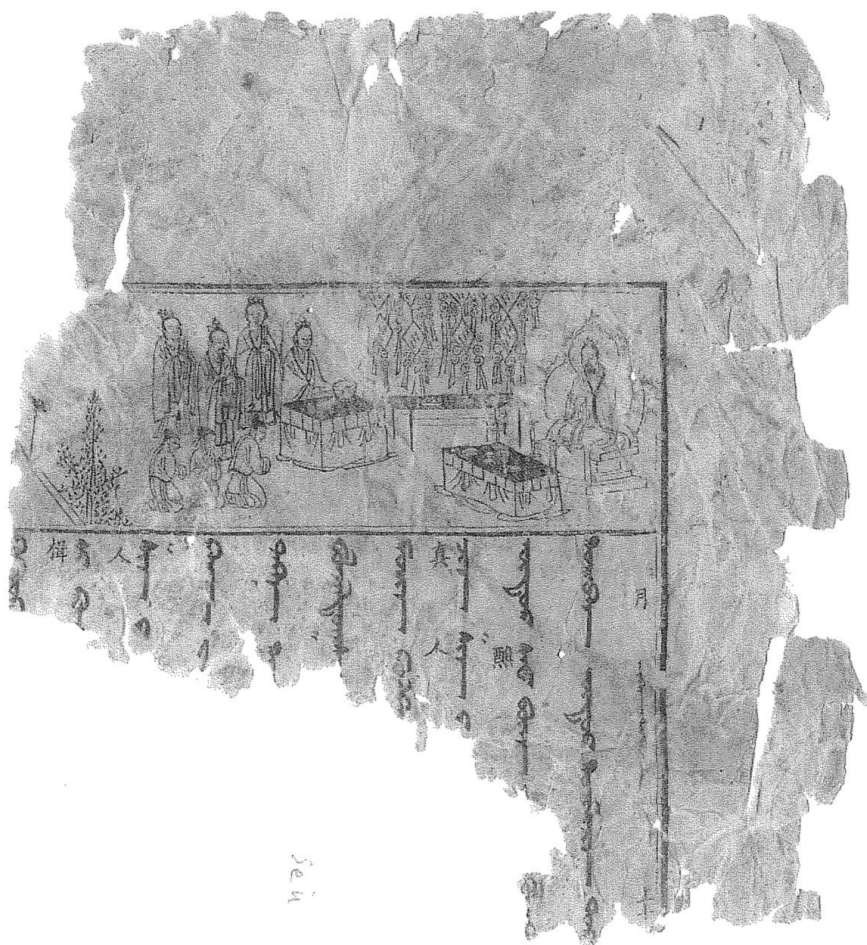
（No.055）文書番号HF125a

FIGURE 5.3 *Folio 14r. "yue arban dörben shang shi[si]," from Yoshida & Chimeddorji*

[14r]

[No. 055 HF125a]

[1]   *kemeǰüg*[*ü ... liu*]

[2]   椙 *si KWY*[*... sun čin*]

[3]   人 *šin-i* [...]

[4]   *kereg Y*[...]

[5]   *-tegen Q*[...]

[6]   *bolǰalduүsa*[*n ...*]

[7]   *morin kölge*[*... sun*]

[8]   真人 *čin šin-i* [...]

[9]   *üdür* 醮 *sau buyan* [*üilde*]*gül*[*e*]*b*[*ei*](*?*)

[10]   *үurban üdür үuyiličin-ṭur*

[0]   月 *arban dörben* 上十[四]

[14r1] said [... Liu] [2] Ji [... Sun *Zhen*] [3] *ren* [...] [4] affair(s) [...] [5] to (or in) one's [...] [6] appointment which has been made with each other [...] [7] [riding on?] horse [-back? ... Sun] [8] *Zhenren* [...] [9] let [a] *jiao* merit [be performed] for [...] days [10–14v1] Food and alms have been given out to the beggars for three days.

（No.056） 文書番号HF125b

FIGURE 5.4 *Folio 14v. "yue arban dörben xia shi[si]," from Yoshida & Chimeddorji*

[14v]

[№056 HF125b]

[0]   月 *arban dörben* 下十[四]

[1]   *idegen lab ögčügü : tere*
[2]   *on kei qur-a* [*kereg-tü čaɣ-tur?*]
[3]   *bolǰu tariyan* [*... tegüs?*]
[4]   *sayin bolǰugu* [*: ... buyan?*]
[5]   *üiledčü* [*... sun čin*]
[6]   人 *šin Q*[...]
[7]   刘楫 *liu si T*[...]
[8]   *ǰegüden* [...]
[9]   *kümün* [...]
[...]

[1–3] That year, having engendered
the wind and the rain [in time of
necessity?] [3–4] the grain was
[completely?] good [...] [5–6]
performing [merits? ... Sun *Zhen-*] *ren*
[...] [7] Liu Ji [...] [8] dream [...] [9]
person [...]

Notes

[13r2] *qadq̱ulduy̱an* or *qatq̱ulduy̱an*: *qatq̱uldu-* is well attested in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (hereafter *SHM*), where we find *qatquldu'an* with the interlinear Chinese gloss *sishade* 'of fighting' (Kuribayashi 2009: 388). *ükügsed*: a plural in *-d* of the *nomen perfecti* in *-gsen* of the verb *ükü-* 'to die'.

[13r3] *an̠u*: The interlinear Chinese gloss for *anu* in the *SHM* is *ta-de* 'his' (Kuribayashi 2009: 29), that for *inu* is also *ta-de* (Kuribayashi 2009: 206–208). According to Lessing (1995: 46–47), *anu* is "originally, the genitive form of the obsolete pronoun a, they. It has almost completely lost its pronominal meaning, and is used postpositionally to indicate that what precedes it is the syntactical subject of a sentence. It often has the same function as a definite article in English. It is now used interchangeably with *inu*. In modern texts, *ni* is used for both *anu* and *inu*." Cf. also Poppe (1974: 85). *bülegei*: For this word, see Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 133). For the verb *bü-*, cf. Poppe (1974: 102–103), where the form *bülegei* is not mentioned.

[13r4] *buyan üiledügči*: Lit., 'one who performs merits.' In the same text we also have *buyan üiled̠küi-e sedkil* (13v1–2) 'thought of performing a meritorious deed', *en̠e buyan-i es-e üiledbesü* (13v6–7) 'if one will not perform the merit' and *sau buyan [üilde]gül[e]b[ei](?)* (14r9) 'Let [a] *jiao* merit [be performed …]'. In the *Bodhitw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312 (Cleaves 1954: 58), we find the expressions such as *minu ene buyan-iyar* (156a10), *nasu-da buyan üiledkü boltuγai* (156a11–12), *buyan-u küčün* (158a10), *buyan-tu sedkil* (165b3, 10), and *buyan-tu üile* (161a14), which are translated by Cleaves as 'by this my merit' (Cleaves 1954: 73), 'Perform merits in perpetuity.' (Cleaves 1954: 73), 'the force of *buyan* (*puṇya*)' (Cleaves 1954: 76), 'meritorious thoughts' (Cleaves 1954: 84) and 'meritorious works' (Cleaves 1954: 79), respectively. In Lessing (1995: 132) we have *buyan kiky* 'to perform a meritorious deed', a parallel expression of *buyan üiledkü*. The present participle or the *nomen actoris üiledügči* 'someone performing' is formed with the suffix *-gči* which is a compound suffix and is made up of *-g*, used to form deverbal nouns, plus *-či*, the denominative suffix denoting professions. Cf. Poppe (1957: 39). *man̠dur*: a dative-locative form in *-dur* of the first person plural exclusive pronoun *man* 'we'. Cf. Poppe (1974: 50).

[13r5] *ej̱iy-e*: As mentioned in Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 133), in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu we have *ej̱iy-e kürtele* (Cleaves 1949: 62) which is translated by Cleaves as 'until now' (Cleaves 1949: 84); In §167 and §207 of the *SHM*, we have *ej̱i'e* with the interlinear Chinese

gloss *zhijin* 'until now' (Kuribayashi 2009: 155); In the *Hua-yi yiyu*, we also find *eǰe'e kürtele* for *zhijin* (Kuribayashi 2003: 62). It has also *edö'e* form (81. 額朵 額, Kuribayashi 2003: 12). Both forms of the *Hua-yi yiyu* were also copied to *Lulongsai lüe*, cf. Apatóczky 2016: 95. According to Prof. G. Kara, with whom I had regular consultations during my stay at Indiana University in 2014–2015, three different forms *eǰiy-e*, *keǰiy-e* and *teǰiy-e* are attested in Mongolian sources, two of which occur in our text. Cf. *keǰiye* in 13v7.

[13r6] **tonilbai**: There are three forms of the verb *tonil-* 'to get out, to go away' in our text, namely, the past tense *tonilbai*, *tonil[̄γaq]u* (13v1), a *nomen futuri* in *-ġu* of *tonilγa-*, which, in turn, a factitive in *-γa-* of the verb *tonil-*, and *tonilaġu* (13v7), a *nomen futuri* in *-ġu* of *tonil-*, after which the interrogative verb *buį* has been omitted. In Lessing (1995: 825), we have *sünesün-i tonilγaqu* 'to deliver the soul of a deceased from punishment'.

[13r7] **i yang qoton**: approximately the present day Yiyang county, Luoyang, Henan province. Cf. Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 133).

[13r9] **ạyedüǰü**: In Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 132) the word is translated "和好 *hehao* 'become reconciled'". In fact, *eye* or *eye-* in Middle Mongolian means 'consultation; to consult, to talk over', cf. the *SHM*, where we have *eye*, *eye-ben*, *eye-dür-iyen*, *eye-ṯür*, *eyeten*, *eyetüǰü*, *eyetüye*, *eyetüldübe*, *eyetüldübei*, *eyetüldüǰü*, *eyetüldürün* and *eyetüldüt* (Kuribayashi 2009: 170–171). In the *Hua-yi yiyu* we find *e[ye]tüldü-* 'to consult' (Kuribayashi 2003: 46). For further occurrence of the word *eye* in the materials in 'Phags-pa script, cf., e.g., the Edict of Yisüntemür khan of 1328, where we read: *mdo gams-un sụen ·uė shi-yin noyad-dač'a ėye üge·uė aldal üge·un hara alan alda·ulun yabu·asu* 'if [he] would put to death or punish innocent people without consultation with the officials of Xuanweisi of Amdu and Kham' (Hugjiltu & Sarula 2004: 234–240; Tumurtogoo 2010: 74–75). **bidani**: an accusative form in *-i* of the first person plural inclusive pronoun *bidan*. Cf. Poppe (1974: 50).

[13v3] **manaγar**: In the *Hua-yi yiyu*, we find *manaqar erte* for *qingzao* 'early morning' (Kuribayashi 2003: 12). In the *SHM*, there are two different forms: *manaqar* with the Chinese interlinear glosses *ming* 'bright; next (day/year)', *qingzao*, *mingri* 'tomorrow', *zao* 'morning; early' or *mingzao* 'tomorrow morning', and *manaqarši* with the interlinear glosses *mingri*, *ming* or *mingzao* (Kuribayashi 2009: 284). **üdür düli**: For *üdür*, cf. Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 131) and Kuribayashi (2009: 497–498). The expression *üdür düli* is attested in §170 of the *SHM*, where we read: *manaqarši üdür düli* with the interlinear Chinese

glosses 明早晝午 *mingzao zhou wu*, which are translated by Cleaves (1982: 95) as 'the next day, at noon', by Onon (1990: 77) as 'the next day … (from) noon …' and by de Rachewiltz (2006: 89) as 'at noon of the following day'. It is also attested in the (*Beilu*) *Yiyu* as an independent source: *BLYY* 136. "餉午五堵兒堵力" (Apatóczky 2009: 36).

[13v3–4] ***sun čin šin***: Chin. *sun zhenren*. Of these words, as Poppe mentioned, *sun* is a proper name, *zhen* means 'true, veritable', and *ren* 'person, man'. He remarked: "'True' means true from the viewpoint of Taoism, i.e., 'he who possesses the Tao 道 (way).'" (Poppe 1957: 86). Prof. G. Kara translates the Taoist term *zhenren* as 'holy man'. The name *sun čin šin* occurs at several points in the text. On page 133 of Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 133–134) there is a brief note on the contents of the document in question, where we read:

> 它或许是一部道教典籍，也可能是一部以道教为主题的文学作品。其中的 "孙真人"，有可能是由于编著了《千金要方》（《千金翼方》）等而闻名于世的孙思邈（581–682）。

> It may be a Taoist scripture, or a literary work of Taoist theme. Sun *Zhenren* in it may be Sun Simiao (581–682) who was well known for his compilation of the *Qianjin yaofang* 'Essential Prescriptions Worth a Thousand' (the *Qianjin yifang* 'Revised Prescriptions Worth a Thousand').

Chen Guang'en, as mentioned above, has a different point of view. However, until the original Chinese work has been identified, it seems somewhat premature to speculate on the identity of the Taoist priest. For Sun Simiao or Sun Simo, one of the greatest Chinese physicians and one of the best-known alchemists in history, see Pregadio (2008: 925–928).

[13v4] ***öčir-e***: Yoshida & Chimeddorji read *üǰir-e* 'in order to see', translating *jian* 'to see'. Prof. G. Kara read *öčir-e* 'in order to beg', translating 'to beg'. I follow Prof. G. Kara. For the *converbum finale* ending in *-r-a/-r-e*, see Poppe (1974: 98, 180, 183).

[13v5] ***ker ber***: It is attested in §145 of the *SHM*, with the meaning of 'if'. The interrogative adverb *ker* 'how' is actively used in the *SHM*. Cf. Kuribayashi (2009: 264–265). For the particle *ber*, see Poppe (1974: 185).

[13v6] ***šiltaγalaǰu***: 'seeking an excuse or a pretext'. In the *Hua-yi yiyu* we have *šiltālam* for *tuici* 'to decline' (Kuribayashi 2003: 48).

[13v8] *tegüber*: an instrumental form in *-ber* of the demonstrative pronoun *tegün* 'that'. *čimada*: a dative-locative in *-da* of the second person singular pronoun *čima* 'thou'.

[13v9] *bügüd[e ü]gei bolǰu*: In Yoshida & Chimeddorji, this line is transcribed as *bügüd[e] ///K'Y bolǰu ///?///*, and translated "全部成为 ... *quanbu chengwei* 'all turned into ...'". It appears to me that the second word is *ügei*. If so, *bügüd[e ü]gei bolǰu* would give an excellent sense in this context, with the meaning '[they] all [i.e., the souls of the deceased] disappearing'.

[13v02] *küčündür*: a dative-locative of *küčün* 'strength'. The form is well attested in the initial formula, i.e., *möngke tngri-yin küčün-dür*, which is translated by Poppe (1957: 67) as 'by the strength of eternal Heaven', of imperial edicts of the Yuan dynasty both in Uighur-Mongolian and ḥP'ags-pa script.

[14r1] The word *liu* must have appeared at the end of this line.

[14r2] The words *sun čin* must have appeared at the end of this line.

[14r6] *bolǰalduȳsa[n]*: a *nomen perfecti* in *-ȳsan* of *bolǰaldu-*, which, in turn, is a reciprocal in *-ldu-* of the verb *bolǰa-* 'to make an appointment, to determine beforehand'.

[14r7] *morin kölge[...]*: The second word, in my opinion, might be a *converbum modale* in *-n*, a *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰü*, or a *converbum perfecti* in *-ged*, of the verb *kölgele-* 'to ride'. In addition, it is reasonably certain that the Chinese family name *sun* must have occurred at the end of this line.

[14r8] The last word of this line must have been a numeral. According to *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, the *jiao* liturgy may last a week or longer (Pregadio 2008: 539).

[14r9] *sau buyan*: In this expression, *sau* is a transcription of the Chinese *jiao*. It is, therefore, evident that the expression *sau buyan* '*jiao* merit' denotes the *jiao* liturgy. For *jiao* or Offering, see Pregadio (2008: 539).

[14r10] *γuyiličin*: In the preliminary version of his article "The Mongol Sources of the History of the Mongol Empire", Prof. G. Kara read the word as *γuyiličin-tur* 'to the beggar(s)'. I follow him.

[14v1] ***idegen lab***: Prof. G. Kara, op. cit., read the words as *idegen lab ög-*, translating 'to give food alms'. For further details concerning the word *lab*, he suggested, cf. Uyg. *lab buši*, and Zieme in *AoF* VI, 1979.

[14v2] ***kei qur-a***: As stated in Yoshida & Chimeddorji (2008: 129), in modern Mongolian the word *kei* does not have the meaning of 'wind' while in Middle Mongolian it means 'wind', which is well attested in the sources such as the *SHM* and the *Hua-yi yiyu*. For another example of *kei qur-a*, cf. the *Bodhitw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312, where we read: *kei γur-a* (*γur-a* in Ceren-sodnom & Taube 1993: 94) *čaγ-tur törügülüged* (167a6) which is rendered by Cleaves (1954: 86) as 'having engendered at the [appropriate] time the wind and the rain.' After *qur-a* in our text, approximately two words are missing, which are possibly the words *kereg-tü čaγ-tur*, *kereg čaγ-tur* or the like, to judge in the light of references which have been cited in n. 21r6 in Cerensodnom & Taube (1993: 94), where we find the following expressions: [*kei*] *qur-a čaγ-tur orotuγai*; *kei qur-a kereg-tü čaγ-tur boltuγai*; and *kei qura kereg čaγ-tur boluγad*.

[14v3–4] ***tariyan [... tegüs?] sayin bolǰugu***: After *tariyan*, at least, two words are missing, one of which is possibly the adverb *tegüs* 'completely', according to the similar expression *tariyan tegüs sayin boltuγai* in 158a1 of the *Bodhitw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312 (Cerensodnom & Taube 1993: 80; Cleaves 1954: 45). It is possible that the missing word immediately after *tariyan* was *idegen* or *tömüsün*, of which the former is attested in the *Bodhitw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur* while the latter, namely, the expression *tariya tömüsü*, is still actively used in daily life today. As in the case of the verb *ögčügü* in 14v1, a double-dot must have appeared after *bolǰugu* to indicate the end of the speech unit, and the word *buyan* at the end of line 4.

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ene   v6

es-e   r6; 13v6

gergei-lügeben   r9

ɣurban   r0; 13v0; 14r10

ɣuyiličin-ṯur   r10

-i (acc.)   13r4; 13v6; 14r3; 14r8

i yang (*Yiyang*)   13r7

idegen   v1

irebei   v8

iresügei   v5

ǰegüden   v8

kei   v2

keǰiye   v7

kemeged   v8

kemeǰüg[ü]   r1

kememü   v5

ker ber   v5

kereg   r4

kölge[…]   r7

küčündür   v02

kümün   r8; 14v9

kürtele   r6

lab   v1

liu si (*Liu Ji*)   13r8; 14v7

-lügeben (comit. + poss.-refl.)   13r9

manaɣar   v3

mandur   r4

morin   r7

neretü   r8

on   v2

öčir-e   v4

ögčügü   v1

qadɣulduɣan-ṯur   r2

qoton-ṯur   r7

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šin-i (*ren*, acc.)   14r3

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sünesün   r3

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-ṯe (dat. -loc.)   13r5

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tere   v1

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-üṉ (gen.)   13r3

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jiao 醮   r8–9

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liuji 刘楫   r7–8; 13v03; 14v6–7

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shang shi[si] 上十[四]   14r0

[sun] zhenren [孫]真人   r7–8

[sun zhen]ren[孫真]人   r2–3; 14v5–6

sun zhenren 孫真人   v2–4

xia shisan 下十三   v0

*xia shi[si]*下十[四]   14v0

yiyang 宜陽   r6–7

yue 月   r0; 13v0; 14r0; 14v0

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Pronouns and Other Terms of Address in Khalkha Mongolian

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Addressing people is an important linguistic skill. If we take lexical representation as our starting point, the devices that are used to fulfill this function in Mongolian can be subdivided into proper nouns, proper names, attributes, personal pronouns, and zero expressions. A proper understanding of Mongolian address forms would be equivalent to knowing when and how these devices can be used. This article is meant to take a tiny step towards this goal by, firstly, giving a short overview of Mongolian terms of address, secondly, clarifying their syntactic status and, thirdly, presenting a brief discussion of the pronouns *či* 'you (singular non-honorific)', *ta* 'you (singular honorific)' and *öör-* 'self' as used for second person singular reference. The evidence used for the analysis of second person pronouns is mostly based on qualitative interviews with eleven informants (who formed a convenience sample). Conversational examples were either constructed by interviewees (CI) or overheard during participant observation (by B. Zolžargal [Z], N. Gantuyaa [G] or the author [B]). As conventions of politeness are not properties of a language or dialect group (such as "Mongolian" or Khalkha-Chakhar), but of a speech community (Pan 2011: 91), the discussion will focus on the urban Khalkha of Ulaanbaatar, unless otherwise indicated.

1 The Inventory of Khalkha Address Forms

PROPER NOUNS play a very major role as terms of address in Mongolian, and their inventories differ widely according to dialect, society and subculture. There is some research on terms for RELATIVES (*eež=ee* 'mother!', *egč=ee* 'elder sister! elder female person!') which form part of the system (e.g. Altangerel

2006, Mǎ 2009, Tulɣaɣuri & Sergei 2013, Soyol 2015), but these studies tend to focus on interdialectal variation, ignoring the ways in which terms for relatives are used for addressing people. In addition, terms for FRIENDS (*naiz=aa* 'friend!', *xögš=öö(n)* 'old [friend]!', *and=aa* 'sworn friend!'), LOVERS (*xair=aa* 'love!', *xan'=aa* '(long-term) partner!', *xögš=öö(n)*), PROFESSIONALS (*bagš=aa*! 'teacher', *darg=aa* 'boss!') and terms of OFFENSIVE (*novš=oo ~ novš=min'* 'you trash!') play a certain role.[1]

PERSON NAMES are frequently used as terms of address, be it on their own or jointly with terms for relatives and professionals. Either way, they can be used as nicknames (*Deegii egč=ee*) or in their full form (*Delgermaa darg=aa*). Khalkha NICKNAMES are mostly created from the pattern (C)VVCVV (e.g. *Delgermaa > Deegii*) and occasionally make use of Russian diminutive suffixes such as *-kAA* and *-UUš-kAA*.[2] In any case, they require a long final vowel (*Cogt > Cogtoo*). Patterns are productive, so that different groups of people often call one individual by different nicknames. The use of person names towards direct elder relatives is taboo, and towards lovers it is mostly nonchalant.

ATTRIBUTES can be proper nouns, adjectives, prenominal possessive pronouns and postnominal possessive clitics. ATTRIBUTIVE PROPER NOUNS, apart from the cases mentioned above, are a small set of deferential words such as postnominal *guai* (deferential towards old and ironic of younger people)[3] or prenominal translation-related terms such as *noyon Cogt* 'Mr. Cogt', *nöxör Delgermaa* 'comrade Delgermaa' (cf. the traditional postnominal *Cogt noyon* 'feudal overlord Cogt'). Exalting ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES are not very common and might require the presence of postnominal possessive clitics as in *xairt Cogt=min'* 'my beloved Cogt'. Tiānfēng (2006) mentions adjectives of self-debasement such as *erdemgüi* 'devoid of learning' or *öčüüxen* 'tiny', but such Confucianist stereotypes are current in neither Inner nor Outer Mongolia. Among PRE- AND POSTNOMINAL POSSESSIVES, only the first person singular forms play an important role in combination with terms for relatives, friends and lovers (e.g. *minii düü ~ düü=min'* 'younger sibling/person!') and with the non-honorific second person singular pronoun (only postnominal *či=min'*).

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1 Except for terms of offense, these are discussed very briefly by Tiānfēng (2006) and in some detail by Brosig (*forthcoming*).

2 Patterns in Inner Mongolia differ very substantially, using among other things morpheme-initial open syllables for forming nicknames (e.g. *Erdenmönx > Emö bagš*).

3 Žagvaral (1976: 79–81) next to *guai* lists the term *avgai* and the dialectal suffixes *-yAA* and *-hAi* as fulfilling an equivalent function when following person names.

Postnominal =*min'* has an intimate evaluative meaning not present in prenominal *minii*, specializing in functions such as expressing pity, critique or irony (see Brosig et al. *in preparation*), and the honorific clitic =*AA*[4] plays a similar role.

The second person singular pronouns in Khalkha Mongolian are non-honorific *či* and honorific *ta*. *Ta* on its own is not used as a plural form anymore, a function now expressed through overt plural suffixes as in *ta(=)nar* or *ta-nuus* or other postnominal quantifiers as in *ta xoyor* 'you two' or *ta xedüül=ee* 'you few' (cf. Qasgerel 2004: 73). While not all plural forms are equally formal, they don't seem to express any distinction as clear-cut as non-honorific vs. honorific in the singular. In order to avoid using either singular form, the reflexive pronoun *öör-* 'self' (which always requires a possessive suffix) can be used. Another strategy is the use of zero instead, but in contrast to overt forms it cannot bear case, so its syntactic role has to be sufficiently clear from context. Moreover, the speaker must rely on linguistic or extralinguistic cues to convey that zero refers to the addressee in the first place.

2   Syntactically Integrated Reference to the Addressee

When referring to the addressee within a clause, Khalkha speakers usually have to resort to personal pronouns. If proper nouns are used to attract the attention of a specific addressee or to construct a certain relationship between the interlocutors, they usually team up with pronouns, as in (1a). However, proper nouns can sometimes fulfill this function by themselves as in (1b), here with obligatory first person possessive. This usage seems more productive in

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4   The honorific clitic =*AA* in one-word address clauses might synchronically be identical with =*AA* as an apparently politeness-enhancing form in finite predicates (cf. Brosig 2015: 49–50, 75–76). Its distribution is complementary to the reflexive-possessive clitic =*AA* which is used for non-subject complements and dependent predicates. There is also a difference in allomorphs in that reflexive-possessive =*AA* takes epenthetic -*g*- when attaching to long vowels, while honorific =*AA* does not combine at all with words ending in long vowels. Note that the final long vowel in *Cogtoo* and other derived nicknames enhances friendliness, but morphologically behaves as a derivational suffix: in forms like *Cogtoo-*(*g*)*oos*, the ablative and other case forms are allowed to attach to the derived stem. Regular honorific (or in some cases arguably emphatic) =*AA*, on the other hand, is only used clause-finally or in some cases as an infix to the last word of the clause, cf. *xögš⟨öö⟩n* in (1a) or the lengthening in *ir-s⟨ee⟩n*.

Inner Mongolia, where (1c) was overheard, but this impression needs validation through medium-sized corpora of comparable conversational data. Using person names instead of proper nouns in sentences like (1b) and (1c) is either impossible or exceedingly rare.

(1) a. *Xögš⟨öö⟩n, či   ir-eed   möng=öö   gyals*
        old⟨HON⟩ 2SG come-CVB money=REFL.POSS quickly
        av-čix-∅!   (Z)
        take-COMPL-IMP
        'Quickly come and get your money, mate!'

     b. *Mi(n)-ii   düü   sain=uu?* (Z)
        1SG-GEN younger.sibling good=Q
        lit. Is my younger sibling well?
        'Are you well?' (addressing a younger person in a friendly, intimate way)

     c. *Bagš   margaaš ir-n=üü?*   (B)
        teacher tomorrow come-POT=Q
        lit. Will teacher come tomorrow?
        'Teacher, will you come tomorrow?'

3   *či* vs. *ta*

For referring to the second person singular within a proper sentence, Khalkha speakers have at least three overt means at their disposal:

1.   the non-honorific second person singular pronoun *či*
2.   the honorific second person singular pronoun *ta*
3.   the reflexive pronoun *öör-*

As a rule of thumb, *ta* is used when speaking to people older than oneself or for people deserving of deference, while *či* is used when speaking to people that are younger.[5] Age distinctions are usually made on a visual basis, so strangers might need an age difference of at least three years between themselves to

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5   To express the meaning 'address somebody as *ta*', some informants used a verb *taal-*, though it is not clear if this word is properly lexicalized or just formed in spontaneous analogy to *guail-* 'address somebody as *guai*'.

consistently apply this distinction. This is not true for siblings and relatives, and some informants even claimed that twins would apply *ta*/*či* according to order of birth. People who know that they are up to four years younger than their addressees can often opt to use *či*, and this form is consistently applied between pupils of the same grade. People in long-term sexual relationships don't make this distinction irrespective of age, but usually resort to mutual *či*.[6] People deserving of deference, such as the President of Mongolia or a child khutukhtu (reincarnated monk), are reported to be addressed as *ta* even by substantially older people. People at the lower end of any strict hierarchy consistently use *ta* towards their superiors. Superiors, in turn, have to respect the age of older interlocutors and address them as *ta*. Deference can outweigh a combination of seniority and status: As a foreign Mongolist traveling to Mongolia, I have usually been spoken to as *ta* by university teachers who are more than ten years older than me and hold higher positions, while those scholars that do use *či* tend to use it as one of the means of asserting their seniority. Another function of *ta* is to display distance, e.g. as the most common form to address a clerk at the bank counter. Whether deference or solidarity is preferred between strangers of similar age largely seems to depend on social background. *Či* in (1a) was used by a 30-year old male towards a taxi driver of the same age, and in combination with *xögšin* was perceived as displaying a level of intimacy unwarranted in the eyes of the driver. (2) was constructed by an urban professional to illustrate a typical friendly, collegial request by a lower-class rural speaker as opposed to polite distance as her own preferred mode of interaction.

(2) *Čamd   gal bai-n=uu?   bayrl-san   šüü.* (CI)
     2SG.DAT fire AUX-DIR.PRES=Q be.glad-EST.PST DP
     'Got a light? [The other person draws a lighter.] Thanks!'

However, the relationship between social interactants is situationally conditioned. For instance, it is possible to use *ta* to signal a certain distance towards a slightly younger addressee. Likewise, the mutual or unilateral closeness signaled by *či* in relationships such as spouse-spouse or parent-child can be cancelled by using *ta*, symbolically withdrawing closeness as a function of warning. (3), if used by a wife to address her husband on the phone, would signal coldness and distance, in effect warning the addressee of the discord he has created

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6   Mutual *ta* is a rare alternative. Before the 1950s, the use was assymetric in that the wife would
    address her husband with *ta*, while he would address her with *či* (Humphrey 1978).

or is in the course of creating. (4) used by a mother to address her child would stress the inappropriateness of its statement or request:

(3) *Ta(n)-d*   *uts-aar*   *yar'-(a)x*   *bolomž*
     2SG.HON-DAT phone-INS speak-FUT.PTCP possibility
     bai-n=uu?   (CI)
     AUX-DIR.PRES=Q
     'Would you [perhaps] be able to talk [now]?'

(4) *Ta(n)-iig*   *xarin sons-loo.*   (CI)
     2SG.HON-ACC but   hear-DIR.IMM.PST
     'Well, I did hear you [though I disagree with it].'

Či, in turn, can be used in situations of conflict to downgrade the other side as hierarchically lower. It can be used to signal slight annoyance towards a slightly older addressee. The use of respectfully distancing *ta* is infelicitous if an interactant wants to ascribe a lower status to her addressee in a situation of open conflict. This is the case in (5), taken from a heated argument at the counter of a state registration office where people receive their passports after applying for an extension. In this case, the clerk is resorting to plain commands and threats and the customer to insults and denial of competence.

(5) Clerk (38–42, female): (G)
     Ter   *xüüxen naa-š=aa*   *or-ood*   *ir-∅,*   *či*
     DEM.DIST woman here-ALL=REFL.POSS enter-CVB come-IMP 2SG
     öör=öö   *teg-vel*   *passport=oo*   *šüü-(g)eed*
     self=REFL.POSS do.so-COND.CVB passport=REFL.POSS check-CVB
     ol-∅!   *Cagdaa duud-aad ög-čix-ii.*
     find-IMP police   call-CVB give-COMPL-VOL
     'That woman over there, come here! And you, seek out your passport yourself! [Beware,] I'll call the police [and you'll see what they make out of your insolent behavior]!'

     Customer (35–40, female):
     Či   yuu gež   cagdaa duud-x-aar   türüü_bar'-aad
     2SG what in.order.to police   call-FUT.PTCP-INS frighten-CVB
     xuc-aad bai-(g)aa   yum be? Ažl=aa   xii-ž
     bark-CVB AUX-RES.PTCP MP   Q   work=REFL.POSS do-CVB
     čad-(a)x=güi   bai-ž.
     can-FUT.PTCP=NEG AUX-INDIR.IMM.PST

'What are you barking around and threatening me with calling the police?
Now that you turned out to be unable to do your [own] work!'

4   *öör-*

If the age distinction between interlocutors is slight or not obvious, *ta* seems to
express a polite, but somewhat distant and *či* a more intimate stance. Conse-
quently, *či* is reported to be more common in cases of solidarity such as among
fellow students or rural people, whereas *ta* is more common among urban pro-
fessionals. If one wishes to avoid this dichotomy, particularly in communica-
tion with strangers when interlocutors want to withhold the expression of sol-
idarity, but still avoid expressing any particular respect, it is possible to use the
singular reflexive pronoun *öör-* without an overt subject, as in (6a). While this
sentence could in principle refer to a third person subject, the second-person
interpretation of *öör-* in subjectless questions seems to be somewhat favored.
In contrast, if a second person pronoun and a reflexive pronoun co-occur as in
(6b), the latter is simply reflexive without any particular implications for inter-
locutor stance.

(6)   a. *Öör=öö   zav-tai=yuu?* (CI)
         REFL=REFL.POSS time-COM=Q
         'Do you have time?'

      b. *Či/Ta öör=öö zav-tai=yuu?* (B: constructed)
         'Do you have time yourself?'

The second person use of *öör-* seems to be particularly common when the
addressee might perceive *či* as an imposition, while the speaker wants to avoid
the distance conveyed by *ta* among people of relatively similar age. (7) is from
a joking conversation between two master's students of the same university
who are not well acquainted with each other. Speaker 1, the older person by
appearance, uses *či* towards his interlocutor. Speaker 2, in turn, perceiving her
interlocutor as close in age and moreover cooperating in the creation of a fictive
world in which she would be higher in status, resorts to *öör-* instead.

(7)   Speaker 1 (35–37, male): (Z)
      Či(n)-ii   ömön or-či-x=uu?
      2SG-GEN before enter-COMPL-FUT.PTCP=Q
      'Can I defend [my dissertation] before you?'

Speaker 2 (31, female):

Ömön or-ii   ge-vel   möng ög-∅!   Öör=öö
before enter-VOL say-COND.CVB money give-IMP self=REFL.POSS

ix möng-tei   xün   bai-x   šig bai-n.
very money-COM person AUX-FUT.PTCP as.if AUX.IMM.PRES

'If you want to defend [it] before me, pay [first]! You seem to be a particularly rich person.'

Another context in which second person *öör-* appears to be feasible is when the speaker wants to render a suggestion less insistent as in (8):

(8) *Öör=öö   bid(en)-tei xamt xözör togl-(o)x=uu?*   (CI)
     self=REFL.POSS 1PL-COM   with cards play-FUT.PTCP=Q
     'Would you like to play cards with us?'

Due to its morphological properties, the reflexive pronoun *öör-* can only be used without explicit reference to a given grammatical person if it agrees with the subject, an agreement which is indicated by the reflexive-possessive clitic =*AA* which is neutral with respect to grammatical person. If it agrees with a non-subject, it combines with personal-possessive clitics that differentiate between first, second and third person. Since plurality would be indicated by a separate plural suffix -*sd-*, the distinction between *či* and *ta* is reflected in the corresponding personal-possessive forms =*čin'* and =*tan'*. However, the construction *öör-*CASE=*čin'* in its use as a quasi personal pronoun still seems to be neutral with regard to the honorific / non-honorific distinction, because *öör-*CASE=*tan'* seems to be used only in its basic reflexive function.[7] The use in (9), an imagined request to a shopkeeper, is thus fully parallel to (8) with avoiding an imposition. (10) shows a rather drastic case of avoiding a hierarchy. Speaker 1, an employee working in the building where Speaker 2 is employed as a doorkeeper, uses the distant polite greeting *sain bain=uu* in combination with the honorific pronoun *ta*. Speaker 2 responds by using the more intimate greeting *sain=uu*, following it up with *öör-* in spite of a very large age difference that is not compensated by status differences. Given the very amicable conversation, the intention is to convey respect. Presumably, Speaker 2 as the senior interlocutor has more leeway in his choice of forms than the lower-ranking Speaker 1.

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7 I checked the first 100 Google hits for the sequence ⟨өөрт тань⟩. A more thorough corpus search might still yield other results.

(9) *Öör-t=čin'*   *utas(n)-ii   negž bai-n=uu?*   (CI)
     REFL-DAT=2POSS phone-GEN unit AUX-IMM.PRES=Q
     'Do you have phone credits?'

(10) Speaker 1 (31, female): (Z)
      Sain   bai-n=uu   ta?
      good AUX-IMM.PRES=Q 2SG.HON
      'How are you?'

      Speaker 2 (65–70, male):
      Sain, sain=uu? Türüün öör-tei=čin'   mendel-sen
      good good=Q   first   self-COM=2POSS greet-EST.PST
      sons-oo=güi   yav-čix-san.
      hear-RES.PTCP=NEG go-COMPL-EST.PST
      'Fine, and you? I greeted you earlier, but you didn't notice and just walked
      past.'

In all examples so far observed, the use of *öör-* is not mutual. It is conceivable
that this constitutes a conversational pattern, but this would have to be checked
carefully in future research.

Conclusion

This paper had two goals: First, it attempted in an empirically informed, but
ultimately rationalist way to provide an initial overview of terms of address
in Khalkha Mongolian. Due to these methodological limitations, it would be
surprising if this overview was exhaustive, but it is hoped to be extensive, so as
to provide a structure upon which future research can build. The second goal
was to present a short outline of the role played by pronouns in addressing
people. It contrasted *či* and *ta* and drew attention to *öör-* as a third option,
while neglecting ZERO, the fourth option. The purpose, again, was not so much
to do justice to the situational and social potential of these forms, but to give
a very rough outline of what speakers might perceive as basic conventions.
My hope is that the first part of this study can set a research agenda that can
be taken up both by smaller exploratory questionnaire-based studies (such as
Brosig *forthcoming*) or more ambitious studies based on corpora (Brosig et al.
in preparation) or systematic ethnographic observation, with the ultimate goal
of approaching communicative competence in Khalkha from a linguistic angle.

Transcription and Glossing

The transcription is based on Cyrillic orthography, but adapted to reflect syllable structure. Epenthetic suffix vowels and morphologically unstable /n in stems are written in parentheses. The glosses in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The following additional glosses were used:

COMPL   completive
DIR   direct
DP   discourse particle
EST   established
IMM   immediate
INDIR   indirect
MP   modal particle
VOL   voluntative

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Past Tenses, Diminutives and Expressive Palatalization: Typology and the Limits of Internal Reconstruction in Tungusic

*José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente**

> Once we refuse to confine our attention to the one small murky corner of downright noise imitation, and begin to pay heightened attention to diachrony, we must confront the key issue of the ultimate reconcilability, in that temporal perspective, of the so-called regular sound development—for generations the staple food of students of historical grammar, boasting its traditional emphasis on phonology—with the, often dramatically deviant, separate development of lexical items suspected of being subject to a phonosymbolic bent. In so doing we must, of course, be prepared, indeed eager, to yank ourselves loose from the prevailing assumption that we are here dealing with exceptions.
>
> MALKIEL 1994: 208

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1 Introduction

In this paper, which, we hope, the honouree will accept as a small token of our appreciation, we tackle what seemingly is a minor problem in Tungusic comparative linguistics, but which, we believe, may illustrate what some would argue should be the proper way to integrate general typology into the work routine of the comparatist and how reconstruction may profit from it in a more effective (and convincing) fashion. Typology here is not understood in Jakobsonian terms,[1] nor taken as the magician's box from which to pull isolated exam-

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The footnotes

1 R. Jakobson popularized the view that a proto-language, or, for that matter, any piece of

ples from various languages across the world to be later used as parallels and in this way justify or increase the likeness of apparently unusual developments (the infamous *Parallelenjägerei*, see Schwinck 1994: 40). We instead focus on the typological properties of a given phenomenon as a whole in order to evaluate its potential value for, in the first place, the identification of it synchronically in Tungusic, and, after that, reconstruction *per se*.

We intend to correct the wrong conclusion ("the final starred form") that we reached elsewhere based on the application of the general principles of internal reconstruction.

In his classical comparative treatment of the Tungusic languages, Benzing (1956: 59–60, see also Sunik 1982: 100–115) posited for Proto-Tungusic two different diminutive suffixes, i.e., *+kaan and *+caan[2] (both suffixes are attested in Jurchen and Manchu, therefore they must go back to the parent language) the only thing differentiating them being the nature of the initial segment.[3] The *k*-variant is well represented across the entire family, but the *c*-variant seems restricted to Northern Tungusic (= NTungusic),[4] whereas in Southern Tungusic (= STungusic) it is only preserved in frozen forms (Sunik 1982: 110–111). Regardless of their actual distribution, the co-existence of these suffixes, for convenience abbreviated K-dim and C-dim, respectively, remains unaccounted for

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reconstruction, must be arrived at in accordance to the general laws of typology, i.e., the restrictions in natural languages which can only be recovered by cross-linguistic comparison (see, *i.a.*, Jakobson 1958). The application of these "general laws of typology" is usually related to the notion of "naturalness" (some would say that this is a sloppy synonym for "realism" in the context of linguistic reconstruction), which basically boils down to a decision made on the base of intuition and generalizations drawn from a (very often) superficial scrutiny of a limited set of data.

2   For typographical convenience, morphemes subject to vowel harmony are not cited in any special manner. Since this is a basic feature of the Tungusic languages, we refer to standard grammars and dictionaries for further details. Note also that, unless otherwise stated, ⟨ä⟩ stands for /ə/ (traditionally ⟨e⟩ or ⟨ə⟩).

3   We will not discuss here whether this element is of Mongolic origin (for the Altaistic angle, see, *i.a.*, Ramstedt 1952: 210–211 and Sunik 1982: 112–115). There is a bad habit of ignoring Tungusic internal facts once a given formant is identified as Mongolic. This fact has only aggravated the already alarmingly poor knowledge that we have about Tungusic historical linguistics.

4   In this paper we adopt the following internal division of the Tungusic languages: [1] Northern Tungusic (= Northwestern: Ewenki, Ewen, Solon, Negidal, Arman, Udihe), [2] Southern Tungusic (= Amurian Tungusic: Oroch, Nanay, Kilen, Kili, Ulcha, Orok), with Udihe and Oroch serving as a bridge between one branch and the other, and [3] Manchuric (Early and Late Jurchen, Written Manchu, Spoken Manchu and Sibe).

to this day. Most synchronic descriptions of the languages where both suffixes co-occur provide no explanation as to when or why one suffix should be used instead of the other, put in other words, they are presented as if they would be synonymous.

Internal reconstruction usually provides the most straightforward explanation for such intricate problems. Elsewhere (Alonso de la Fuente 2013: 60 fn. 3, 2014: 112–113 fn. 16) we suggested that these two suffixes may actually be the continuation of *+kyan from which sprung the allomorphic variant *+caan when *+kyan was attached to nasal bases. The coronal feature spread from the nasal component to the contiguous dorsal consonant, and after that, the yod element of the diphthongoid in the suffix triggered coronal palatalization, i.e., *... n+kyan > *... n+tyan > *-n+c(y)an > *+caan. As for original *+kyan in non-nasal contexts, it yields *+kaan, with vowel length as the natural development of original diphthongoids. At some point, the nasal segment is lost or the epenthetic vowel is introduced in morpheme boundary so that vowel bases are generalized and potential irregular developments are avoided (paradigm leveling). In the last stage, the use of the variant *+caan extended to include non-nasal bases.

To arrive to such a reconstruction, a major assumption was made that the initial segment of the diminutive suffix was subjected to the same treatment that can be observed in the Proto-Tungusic past marker, traditionally reconstructed *-kay- ~ *-kya- (Sunik 1962: 228), which, when attached to nasal bases, yielded NTungusic *-caa-, from *...(n)-kya. The *c*-variant was generalized to all bases in the NTungusic languages, like for example Literary Ewenki (= LEwenki) or Negidal, whereas the original parent language marker, i.e., the *k*-variant, was preserved in STungusic *-ka- ~ *-ki-.[5] In any case, the original diphthongoid yields a long vowel in NTungusic as expected.

From the above we can deduce that a diphthongoid must be reconstructed in order to account for the palatalization of NTungusic and somehow justify the vowel fluctuation in STungusic. Hence the diphthongoid in the diminutive suffix: it replicates the context of the past marker, providing the appropriate context for the coronal palatalization, although there is no synchronic evidence (like for example vowel fluctuations) that supports its reconstruction.

As will be shown, the assumption regarding the history of the past tense is an oversimplification of the real facts. There is an alternative explanation that does not require to reconstruct the sequence *... (n)-kya, and, at the same time, clarifies the many questions posed by previous accounts.

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5 This is not an insignificant issue, for the *k~c* alternation in this context has been used as an aid for the internal classification of the Tungusic languages (see, *i.a.*, Doerfer 1978, feature [i]).

Thus, although the main goal of this paper is to deal with the origin of the initial segment in the diminutive suffix, in order to do so we need first to get rid of the problematic issue about the past tense, because if it turns out that the parallel of palatalization assumed for the past tense actually does not stand scrutiny in the end, it will be necessary to reconsider our initial proposal regarding the *k~c* alternation in the diminutive.

The structure of this paper is the following: in section 2 we introduce the concept of expressive palatalization and provide a very basic definition of palatalization in Tungusic. This section encapsulates the theoretical notions that we need to take into account in order to analyze the data which we present in the next two sections. Section 3 is devoted to the history of the past tense and section 4 deals with the diminutive. We summarize our conclusions in the final section.

For the sake of convenience, we have arranged a comparative table at the end of this paper with all the relevant data (see Appendix).

2 Expressive Palatalization and Palatalization in Tungusic

Palatalization is one of the most common phonological processes cross linguistically (Bateman 2007, Kochetov 2011). For present purposes, we will divide it into two classes: phonological palatalization and expressive palatalization, henceforth P-pal and E-pal, respectively. E-pal is always associated with the expression of such semantic nuances as "smallness", "affection", "childishness", "uncontrolledness", etc., e.g. Basque *sagu* vs. *xagu* 'mouse', *errez* vs. *errex* 'easy' (Basque ⟨x⟩ = /ʃ/), *lagun* vs. *llagun* 'friend' (Basque ⟨ll⟩ = /ʎ/), or *kutun* vs. *kuttun* 'dear' (Basque ⟨tt⟩ = /c/) where the second member of each pair is the affectionate form. It is linked with baby talk and childish language, although it is a productive expressive device in the language of adults too. E-pal is well represented across language of the world and in some descriptions it may be found under the epigraphs of sound symbolism, mimetic formations, etc. E-pal has received a good deal of attention in Basque (Hualde 2015), Japanese (Hamano 1994, 1998) or Greek (Joseph 1997).

The key difference between E-pal and P-pal is the presence or absence of an overt trigger, put differently, P-pal is phonologically conditioned, E-pal is not, e.g. Japanese /t/ becomes [tɕ] and [ts] before /i/ and /u/ (P-pal), e.g. /kat-/ 'to wing' → 勝ち [katɕ-i] (infinitive), 勝つ [kats-u] (present tense), 勝て [kat-e] (imperative), but there is no trigger in かちゃ かちゃ /katɕakatɕa/ 'clink, clatter, clang' (E-pal) vs. かたかた /katakata/ 'clattering'. Also, it is common cross-linguistically that E-pal often targets a set of segments different from

those targeted by P-pal (Kochetov / Alderete 2011: 347), for example in mimetics like ぽこぽこ /pokopoko/ 'burbling, hollow (sounding); here and there' vs. びょ こびょ こ /pʲokopʲoko/ 'up and down; lightly, casually' (in Japanese, P-pal never targets labial consonants, whereas /r/ resists E-pal in the second mora of mimetics).[6]

From a synchronic viewpoint, Tungusic palatalization is very conventional. It is triggered by front (only high) vowel /i/ and manifests itself twofold: /ni/ → [ñi] or /si/ → [ɕi] (secondary palatal articulation), or /ti/ → [tsi ~ tɕi] (shift from anterior coronal to posterior coronal). Although irrelevant for present purposes, it remains unclear whether the parental language had a phonemic opposition /ni/ and /ñi/, like for example in Spanish, or only the allophonic pair /ni/ → [ñi] (see, *i.a.*, Benzing 1956: 25–26 § 33).

In Tungusic, P-pal always targets dental, and it never affects dorsals. There is no velar palatalization in Tungusic where the original velar segment would not appear in the sequence /nk/, like for example when in Ulcha the past tense marker *-ki* is attached to nasal base verbs: *… n-ki > *-n.ci*, cf. Oroch *-ŋ.ki*, etc. (see discussion below). Since such an exception seems remarkably suspicious, we prefer to analyze these instances as cases where /nk/ underwent coronal assimilation, i.e. /nk/ > /nt/. Only after that, coronal palatalization took place.

3   Past Tense and Past Participle

The history of the past system in Tungusic may seem a complex issue at first glance. Traditional accounts, such as those by J. Benzing and O.P. Sunik, hold that there is only one past formation marked with the suffix *-ka (finite) vs. *-ka-y (non-finite). Regrettably, they fail to take into account the peculiarities of the distribution of these markers in STungusic and the existence of a second past tense (we will speak of Past I and Past II) in some languages. As will turn out, Past II may have played a pivotal role in the entire past system from a diachronic viewpoint.

In next sections we will present basic comparative data, review previous scholarship and suggest an alternative solution to this thorny problem.

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6   In this paper we will not address more general questions as whether E-Pal or P-Pal are two faces of the same process or, quite the contrary, we are dealing with two different, independent of each other, processes (for a presentation of both views, see Kochetov / Alderete 2011).

3.1 *Data*

Past II is not represented in all languages. LEwenki and Udihe are the only two languages were the clearest traces of it have been preserved. LEwenki uses the markers *-caa* and *-ŋki-* for Past I and Past II, respectively. Bulatova and Grenoble call them "Past" and "Distal Past" (1999: 35), respectively, whereas Soviet scholars labelled them "Past II" and "Past III" (see, *i.a.*, Lebedeva / Konstantinova / Monaxova 1979: 137–141). In this tradition, Past I corresponds to the *ra*-formation, which we call here non-past ("aorist" and "present" are common labels too). We will come back to this later.

In LEwenki Past I and Past II take the same set of personal endings. Past I signals an action which occurred in the past, without further additional information. Past II may also convey, beyond temporal reference, iterativity or durativity (the latter only on stative verbs). Only Past I has a participial formation (it expresses anteriority).

As for Udihe, it distinguishes the regular past tense from the perfect. Past and Perfect indicative (finite) forms use each different sets of personal endings. In Udihe there is no perfect participle, only past participle (it uses the same stem and the same set of personal endings as the past tense). The distribution of markers, sensitive to verb class membership (class I = vowel bases, class II = consonant bases, virtually all of them are nasal bases),[7] can be summarized as shown in Table 7.1 below (Nikolaeva / Tolstkaya 2001: 209–211, 252–256, cf. Perexval'skaja 2016: 573, where Past = Preterite).

Via internal reconstruction, it is generally assumed that Past I comes from *-hV-* < *-sV-* < *-cV-*. According to some authors (Kormušin 1998: 95), [h] could be heard among some speakers (especially in the Xor dialect) until recently.

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7   Generally speaking, Tungusic languages have four types of bases (or verb classes): vowel bases, nasal bases, other consonant bases (esp. *-p-, -k-, -l-*), and irregular verbs which include a set of Pan-Tungusic items: *bi-* 'to be', *ä-* negative auxiliary, *o-* 'to become', *ga-* 'to take', *bu-* 'to give', *bü-* 'to die', etc. Depending on the grammar consulted, these four classes may present a variable number of subclasses. Not long ago Udihe had four verb classes (see, *i.a.*, Kormušin 1998: 95–96, Nikolaeva / Tolskaya 2001: 208–209), but with the course of the time they have been reduced to two verb classes, and the tendency points clearly towards a single vowel class. The mechanism by which this has been accomplished is well understood. In the indicative mood, V°-bases have extended analogically over the N°-bases, where we can find *dian-* 'to say' → *diaŋ-ki-fi* 'we (inclusive) said' along with *dian.aa-fi*, where *-aa-* is originally the epenthetic vowel breaking consonant clusters. This vowel was later reinterpreted as part of the base and lengthened, like in vowel bases, cf. *wakca-* 'to hunt' → *wakcaafi* 'we hunted' < *wakca-sV- < *-cV-*. In NTungusic the concept of "class" is irrelevant for epenthesis in C°-bases erased the differences between original vowel and consonant classes.

TABLE 7.1   *Bikin Udihe past and perfect markers*

Class	Past	Perfect
I (Vᵒ-base)	long vowel	laryngealized vowel
II (Nᵒ-base)	-ki- (irregular -si-)	-ka- (irregular -s'a-)

TABLE 7.2   *Oroch, Ulcha and Orok past tense markers*

	Oroch	Ulcha	Orok
Class I	... *V(V)-xa-*	... *V(V)-xa-*	... *V(V)-xa-*
Class II	*... n-ki- > -*ŋ.ki-	*... n-ki- > -n.ci-	*... n-ki-, > -c.ci-
Class III	*... p-ki- > *-k-pi- > -p.pi-	*... p-ki- > -k.pi-	*... l-ki- > -l.ci-
	*... C-ki- > -k.ki-	*... r-ki- > -ci-	*... g-ki → -K-ci-
Class IV	bi-ci-, etc.	bi-ci-, etc.	bi-cci-, etc.

The loss of [h] causes the vowel length in Vᵒ-bases. The perfect goes back to *-kV-, which regularly yields -'V-, i.e., laryngealized vowel.

Judging by the vocalism of the markers that appear with Nᵒ-bases, their internal reconstruction when they are attached to Vᵒ-bases and, partially, on semantics, it is safe to assume that Udihe Past I goes etymologically with LEwenki Past II, whereas Udihe Perfect corresponds to LEwenki Past I. Based on the data from LEwenki and Udihe alone, it seems as if the main distinctive feature of these past formations is their vocalism: /a/ vs. /i/.

In other Tungusic languages, there is no second past tense. Instead, there is one past formation which is marked with *-ka ~ *-ki. The distribution of this marker depends on the verb class.

In Oroch, past markers are the same for both finite and non-finite formations, they only differ depending on the verb class (Avrorin / Boldyrev 2001: 156). The situation is very similar in Ulcha (Petrova 1936: 49, 61) and also in Orok (Petrova 1967: 95–97, Ozolinija 2013: 85–87). The distribution of endings according to verb classes can be summarized as shown in Table 7.2 above (it is necessary to bear in mind that nomenclature changes from language to language depending on the grammar consulted, hence we have unified it according to the Pan-Tungusic viewpoint described in previous paragraphs).

In Orok, class III verbs with original final /g/ show fluctuation with /k/ due to the combined action of phonotactics, reanalysis and paradigm leveling. Also,

TABLE 7.3   *Kilen, Kili and LNanay past tense (PT) and past participle (PP) markers*

Class	Kilen		Kili		LNanay	
	PT	PP	PT	PP	PT	PP
I & II	*-ka-*	*-xa-*	*-(t)ka-*	*-xa(n)*	*-ka-*	*-xa(n)*
III	*-(Ta-)ka-*	*-xa- / -ki-*	*-tka-*	*-ki(n)*	*-ka-*	*-ki(n)*
IV	*-(Ta-)ka-*	*-xa- / -ci-*	*-(t)ka-*	*-ci(n)*	*-ca-*	*-ci(n)*

the past of class IV verbs is built on the present tense, i.e., Class IVa *panu-s(i)-
+ -ci- > *panu-cci-*, from *panu-* 'to ask', class IVb *bi-s(i)- + -ci- > *bi-cci-*, from *bi-*
'to be', etc. (class IVa is made of denominal verbs in *-na-, -ŋa-, -ma-* and *-su-* that
to a great extent behave like class IVb verbs).

Interestingly enough, Orok and Ulcha share the peculiarity that, after the
application of well-known phonotactical rules, there is no trace of the original
ki-formant.

As for LNanay (= Literary Nanay), Kilen and Kili (Avrorin 1961: 70, 102, 105,
Sem 1976: 68, 78, Sunik 1958: 93, 97, respectively), Table 7.3 above shows that the
distribution of the past markers bears some resemblance to what we observe
in Oroch and Ulcha.

Two important remarks are in order: (1) PT and PP endings are different,
and (2) the so-called "thematic element" *-ta- ~ -da-*, restricted to some class III
(consonant bases) and IV (irregular) verbs in the non-past tense, spread to Cº-
base verbs in Kilen and across all verb classes in Kili (note that class I cover short
and long vowel bases, class II includes only diphthongoid bases; the difference
is not relevant for past formations, and in Kili both classes apparently merged
everywhere). In Kilen, the extension of the *-Ta-* formant is taking place too
in the non-past. The motivation behind this extension is clear: to convert all
consonant bases into vowel bases. Also, regarding the non-past in general, note
that (1) the loss of *-r- did not take place before diphthongs or consonants, (2)
in LNanay, class I verbs have *-ra-* in the 3SG and 3PL of the PreT, and (3) the
original PreP ending of class I verbs has been generalized over the entire system
(as can be surmised from Table 7.4 below).

Coming back to the past formations, in all these languages (Oroch, Ulcha,
LNanay, Kilen and Kili), the sound change *VkV > *VxV* is the norm. Therefore,
we should conclude that there is a tendency whereby *-ka-* was generalized in
the indicative mood (PT), spreading from Cº-bases, whereas *-xa-* becomes the
only ending in participial formations, spreading from Vº-bases. These exten-

TABLE 7.4   *Non-past ("present") tense and present participle markers*

Class	Kilen		Kili		LNanay	
	PreT	PreP	PreT	PreP	PreT	PreP
I	∅	*-y-*	*-y(i)-*	*-y(i)-*	*-a-*	*-y-*
II	*-ra-*	*-ri-*	*-y(i)-*	*-y(i)-*	*-ra-*	*-ri-*
III	*-Ta-*	*-Ci- / -Ta-*	*-y(i)-*	*-y(i)-*	*-Ta-*	*-Ci-*
IV	*-Ta-*	*-ji- / -da-*	*-y(i)-*	*-y(i)-*	*-da-*	*-ji*

sions have been completed in Kilen (where remnants of the PT *ca*-ending in class IV survive along the analogical, new ending -(*Ta-*)*ka*-, e.g. *bi-kä-y* 'I was' vs. *bi-cä-y* 'I was', cf. LNanay *bi-cä-y*), and in the PT formation of Kili. In LNanay, only the PT extension has been partially completed.

In Jurchenic (Jurchen, Written and Spoken Manchu, Sibe), /-ka/ is the only past marker, with two allomorphs: *-ka* after historical nasal bases (they have subsequently lost the nasal segment after the spread of the non-past base over the entire paradigm),[8] and *-ha* after vowel bases. Most historical nasal bases have been reconverted to the vowel class.

3.2   *Historical Evolution of the Past Formations*

It may seem quite a challenge to reconcile all the past systems attested in Tungusic. It becomes immediately obvious that Benzing (1956: 138–142) and Sunik (1962: 228–235, followed by Perexval'skaja 2016: 573–576), the only two authors who have approached the issue from a comparative standpoint, were vexed by the data. Benzing's suggestion regarding the reconstruction of a past participle in *-caa to account for NTungusic does not require further commentary. He is less clear when it comes to the historical treatment of the Udihe system. He seems to mix up both Past and Perfect tenses and introduces some additional

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8   Vovin (1997: 270–271) argues that the *k*-allomorph may be a secondary, Jurchenic formation, e.g. WManchu *su-* 'to cover with frost' → PP *su-ngke* < Proto-Tungusic *suN- id. > *i.a.* LNanay *suŋgu* 'frost', *suŋgu-* 'to cover with frost', etc., where the non-finite form *sungke* /suŋkä/ goes back to pre-Jurchenic *suŋV-hV < Proto-Tungusic *suŋV-kV. It seems far more economic (and interesting) to assume that (1) WM *sungke* is an archaism and descends directly from Proto-Tungusic *suŋ-kV, and (2) LNanay *suŋgu* or LEwenki *siŋiksä* 'frost' show secondary epenthesis. True be told, evolution in zigzag is a well known phenomenon in historical linguistics and Vovin's interpretation cannot be dismissed out of hand. This issue requires further study before it can be settled.

verbal formations from other Tungusic languages (evidentials like for example LEwenki *-rka-*, Negidal *-xko-*, etc.), which, we believe, are of no use for the reconstruction of the primary past system, even if possibly related. In the end, Benzing does not propose any reconstruction or specific path of development.

At first, it seems as if Sunik (1962: 229) believes that only one past tense marker is required to account for the NTungusic and STungusic data. However, since he cannot find a reasonable solution to unify the *k*-ending and the *c*-ending, he ends proposing instead that two different endings need to be postulated: *-ka-y > -ka / -ki*, and *-ta-y > -caa / -cii*. In both reconstructions, *-y* stands for the deictic *-i*, an element that, always according to traditional accounts, was attached to certain finite formations in order to generate the corresponding non-finite formation (Ramstedt 1945 = 1952: 100–104, Cincius 1965: 152). Regrettably, we are not told what the original function of these past markers is, nor from where the mysterious formant *-ta-* comes.

Sunik's and Benzing's treatments are unsatisfactory. They do not offer a solution to the diachrony of the past system in the historical languages which would include an account of the very peculiar distribution of the past markers in STungusic (noted in passing by Menges 1978: 391).

Our solution to this conundrum requires the presence of two past tenses (three if we take into account the aoristic *ra*-formation). Based on LEwenki and Udihe data, we will call them Past I and Past II. From a semantic and functional standpoint, Past I could be the imperfect, whereas Past II seems to correspond to the prototypical preterite. In this scenario, LEwenki and Udihe preserve the original system to certain extent, whereas STungusic reduces it by fusing the Proto-Tungusic original Past I and Pat II tenses.[9] As mentioned above, it has been traditionally argued that non-finite formations are derived from finite ones by means of the deictic *-i*. See Table 7.5, where we have introduced the second past tense (hence the upper comas in "traditional", for Benzing and Sunik worked only with *-ra and *-ka).

It is important to keep in mind that the markers *-ca-* and *-ki-* may have been preserved in some other contexts, lending some support to the idea that they truly belong to the morphological background of the common ancestor

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9 This case of syncretism bears a striking resemblance with the creation of the Latin perfect, which is the result of merging the Proto-Indo-European perfect with the aorist (see Meiser 1992, Meiser 2003, Weiss 2009: 409–414). The original system is retained only in Greek and Sanskrit. We can find Latin *uēx* (*uehō* 'I drive'), from *$\u{e}\hat{g}^h$-s- (cf. Sanskrit *vakṣ-*), with sigmatic *-s-, typical of the aorist, and *cecin-* (*canō* 'I sing'), from *de-dorḱ- (cf. Sanskrit *da-darś-*), with reduplication, typical of the perfect. A summary of morphological and mophonological principles that govern the syncretism of aorist and perfect in Latin can be found in the review by Schrijver of Meiser's book (Schrijver 2006: 46–47).

TABLE 7.5   *Proto-Tungusic "traditional" past system*

	Finite	Non-finite
Aorist	*-ra	*-ra+i > *-rii
Past I (imperfect?)	*-ca	*-ca+i > *-cii
Past II (preterite?)	*-ka	*-ka+i > *-kii

and that the LEwenki and Udihe past systems are not secondary innovations. For example, already Benzing pointed out that the conditional ending *-mca- contains the desiderative suffix plus the past marker -ca-. The conditional ending is very functional in STungusic languages: Oroch -muca-, Udihe -musa-, LNanay and Ulcha -mca-, LEwenki and Negdial -mca-, LEwen -mc.i-, etc. (this suffix is not attested in Jurchenic). Benzing (1956: 139) reconstructs *-muca-, but this is wrong: Udihe -s- points to *-mca-, otherwise -s- would yield -h- and, afterwards, zero. At a later stage Oroch and Udihe introduced the epenthetic -i-, which labialized to /u/after /m/. The desiderative suffix underwent the same development in isolation, i.e., *-m(.i)- > *-mu- (> LEwenki -muu-, etc.).

As for -ki-, there are good chances that this is the same component that can be identified in some complex suffixes,[10] like for example the deverbal and denominal noun derivative suffix *-(n)ki (Boldyrev 1987: 32–39, Konstantinova 1964: 163), e.g. LEwenki iwää- 'to chop, chip' > iwää-ŋki 'axe, ice-pick', LNanay moacaa 'shot-gun', moacaa-la- 'to shoot', moacaa-ŋku 'armed', like in moacaaŋku nay 'armed man', or Manchu fuifu- 'to boil' > fuifu-kû 'ketle'. As usual, labialization of original /i/ after velar consonant applies in STungusic. As indicated above, the nasal segment in -ŋki is the result of a simple reanalysis: iwää- 'to chop' > **iwää-n 'chopping' (Benzing 1956: 58 § 72[a]) > **iwää.[ŋ]-ki → iwää-ŋki. Original nasal bases may have also contributed to the reanalysis after haplology: *... n(-i.n)-ki → ... -ŋki. The hypothetical ŋ-less variant of this suffix is preserved in STungusic and Jurchenic, e.g. Manchu obo- 'to wash' > obo-kû 'a basin used for washing the face'.[11]

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10   It is not entirely clear how this ending relates to the participial forms in LEwenki -wkii- (habitual), -wkaa- (impersonal debitive) or the mysterious "past II" in -ni- (Konstantinova 1964: 142 says that it is very rare, in fact, most grammars of LEwenki do not mention it). The latter could provide an interesting alternative explanation to the origin of the nasal segment in -ŋki. This issue will have to remain unexplored for the time being.

11   Boldyrev (1987: 36) treats these and some of other cases, e.g. Orok püsiikkü ~ püsiikü

Coming back to the contents of Table 7.5, a series of extensions and para-
digm leveling episodes followed and obscured the original state of affairs as we
conceive it here. But it is in STungusic (and Jurchenic) where major changes
took place. Some of them, as we have seen above, continue into present times.
The *ka*-past tense totally replace the *ca*-past tense, which only survives in
marginal formations and some irregular verbs. A very peculiar distribution
emerges: the *ka*-marker, in origin restricted to finite formations, is generalized
in V⁰-bases, whereas the *ki*-marker, used only with non-finite formations, is
attached to C⁰-bases. Since this pattern is constant in all STungusic languages,
we are forced to conclude that the association "V⁰-*ka* & C⁰-*ki*" was forged before
historical languages branched off.

This distribution may appear to be phonetic at first glance, and there is
a good reason to assume that, in fact, its ultimate origin is purely phonetic.
It is safe to say that such a distribution has nothing to do with the fate of
the diphthongoid. The scenario where *-kay yields *-ka after vowel, but *-ki
after consonant, creates more problems than it solves. We cannot dwell in the
thorny question of the comparative and historical reality behind long vowels
and diphthongoids in Tungusic. Diphthongoids were very unstable sequences
already in the common ancestor (Benzing 1956: 25–27 §§ 32–35) and as a result
they were solved as long vowels in most of the historical languages.[12] The
assimilation can be of two types depending on the segment which exerts the
assimilation: yod assimilation (Y-ass > *ii) or vowel assimilation (V-ass > *VV).
They are unpredictable, though there is a clear tendency to favour V-ass. The
following two well-known examples illustrate the difficulties involved in the
reconstruction of diphthongoids:

> PT *nyarya 'man, male' (TMS 1.598–599): LEwenki *ñirawii* (dial. *ñorawii*,
> *ñeerawii*, *ñoorii*), Solon *ñiroo* (cf. *ñarawi bäye* 'man'), LEwen *ñarï*,
> Arman *ñeri*, Neg *ñeeyawü* (folk. *ñeewxaan*, *ñeyawkaan*), Oroch *ñëë*

'scissors, razor' (= LNanay *posïko*, Ulcha *püs(i)kü*), from *püsi-* 'to cut', as the result of
assimilation and simplification (degemination), i.e., *-ŋku > -kku > -ku*.

12   LNanay is the only one were diphthongoids are a common trait (Janhunen 1985). This is
due, among others, to the fact that along with inherited diphthongoids, there is a profusion
of secondary diphthongs (and triphthongs) which were created after the loss of *-b- and
*-g- between vowels, as well as the solutions *-yC-* and *-wC-* [-w/uC-] to the sequences *-rC-
and *-bC- [-wC-], respectively. There are also particular developments, but they are clearly
secondary, if not just marginal. For instance, if the diphthong is of the rising (opening)
type, there are some cases in Jurchenic where metathesis takes place, especially in final
position or in monosyllabic words.

~ *ñii*, Udieh *ñii* (folk. *ñee*), Uclha *ñii*, Orok *narï*, LNanay & Kilen *nay*,
Kili *nïr'a*, WM *niyalma* /ñalma/

PT **syan* 'ear' (TMS 2.70–71): LEwenki *s'een* (dial. *h'een, še(e)n, šin, šan*),
Solon *šeen*, Negidal *s'een*, Oroch *s'ëë ~ s'ëëa*, Ulcha & Orok *s'ee(n-)*,
LNanay *s'ea*, Kilen *s'ëë(n-)*, Kili *s'ea ~ s'aa*, WM *šan*[13]

Note that the second diphthongoid in **nyarya is something of a compromise
solution for the /a/ which can be observed in LEwenki, where the diphthongoid
appears encapsulated between two syllables, and other languages where final
**ya yielded /i/.[14]

We are of the opinion that the diversity of results in Kili, Oroch or Udihe in
the etyma above, where the results of Y-ass and V-ass co-occur, may have been
rather common already in the parent language. Equally important are folkloric
variants, as they usually show a deviant behaviour and, more than not, retain
archaic features.

We must highlight, again, that our explanation regarding the peculiar distri-
bution of past markers in STungusic is based on morphological patterns and
requires introducing an important modification to the Proto-Tungusic systems
presented in Table 7.5.

In this new scenario, the opposition finite vs. non-finite was expressed by
**-a- vs. ∅ (zero). The "thematic vowel" **-a was added to tense formants **-r-,
**-c- and **-k-. Non-finite formations developed epenthetic vowels in absolute
final, between consonants or after two-consonant clusters. With the course of
the time, vowel /i/ (in origin the epenthesis /i/), was associated with non-finite
formations. In a first stage, the old opposition finite **-a- vs. non-finite ∅ (zero)
was reinterpreted (morphologized) as finite **-a- vs. non-finite **-i-.

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13   In some languages, the regular word for ear is the same as for auricle, which is etymo-
logically unrelated to **syan, e.g. LEwen *korӭt*, Arman *korot*, Udihe *ku'ai*, all meaning 'ear;
auricle', cf. LEwenki *korokto* 'auricle', etc. (TMS 1.416).

14   Alternative solutions such as proposing a kind of "palatal breaking" *à la* Mongolic, i.e. **narï
> **ñyarï, cannot be supported by additional data (as a matter of fact, most data would
contradict it!). There are some who are very cautious regarding the reconstruction of such
devices as diphthongoids or laryngeals, as they are too powerful and may blur the facts
rather than simplify them. More pertinent seems the question regarding the asymmetry
of the system (see, *i.a.*, Janhunen 1985: 113). In a similar fashion to **wä coming from **öö,
we can speculate that **ya [ïa] comes from an *e*-like vowel (perhaps **[ẹẹ]?), which would
have been preserved untouched in LEwenki. The traditional view is that PT **ya yielded
Ewenki *ee*, and not the other way around.

TABLE 7.6   *Proto-Tungusic "new" past system*

	Finite	Non-finite
Aorist (present imperfective?)	*-r-a	*-r → *... V-r.i#, *... (C)-r.i(-C ...)
Past I (imperfect?)	*-c-a	*-c → *... V-c.i#, *... (C)-c.i(-C ...)
Past II (preterite?)	*-k-a	*-k → *... V-k.i#, *... (C)-k.i(-C ...)

In a second stage, when the distinction finite vs. non-finite became progressively irrelevant (like in NTungusic, Oroch, Orok or Ulcha),[15] some languages opted to erase the opposition *-a- vs. *-i- by dropping altogether one ending and spreading the other to all contexts. In STungusic, however, the same opposition is reinterpreted for the second time, but now in phonetic terms according to well known phonotactical rules: vowel base *-a- vs. consonant base *-i-. Speakers might have come up with the rule that all consonant bases should take the (originally non-finite) marker *-ki, whereas the (originally finite) marker *-ka (> -*xa*) goes with vowel bases.

This scenario which we have set up in the foregoing has many advantages. It accounts for all past systems of the historical languages (regardless of whether they have one or two past tenses) and provides a good explanation for the peculiar distribution of past markers in STungusic. It also allows us to dispense with the mysterious "deictic" element *-i which apparently only functions as a marker of non-finite formations. We replaced it with the trivial, internal process of epenthesis.

The characteristic vowel length of non-finite markers in some historical languages is behind the reconstruction of the diphthongoid (see Table 7.5). However, there are alternative explanations for this that need to be explored. The simplest one is that finite markers had originally primary long vowel (we should then reconstruct *-r-aa, *-c-aa and *-k-aa in Table 7.6). Vowel length *a posteriori* spread to non-finite markers: *-raa- vs. *-ri- → *-raa- vs. *-rii-, etc.[16]

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15   This happened when the role of main and dependent (subordinate) clauses was reinterpreted (non-finite formations are associated with dependent clauses, whereas finite formations go with main clauses). The most likely scenario begins with formally dependent clauses being used as main clauses (this phenomenon is known as insubordination after Evans 2009) so that the morphology of the former extends to the latter. In some cases (NTungusic), in the fluctuation of that reinterpretation the reverse happened: main clause morphology extended to dependent clauses (we can speak of 'übersubordination').

16   Benzing assumed (1956: 128–129) that non-past non-finite endings like -*rii*, -*dii* or -*sii* (the

As for LEwenki and Udihe, in NTungusic *-caa extends to both finite and non-finite formations of Past I (in the very same way that the non-past non-finite ending did in Kili), whereas a nasal(ized) allomorph of *-kii (which results of the reanalysis of Nº-bases, i.e., *... n-ki → *... -ŋki) is generalized for Past II.[17]

In Udihe non-finite endings (< *-c.i) are generalized in the Past. The original -c- vs. -k- opposition was preserved in Vº-bases, until idiosyncratic sound changes blurred it. The vowel opposition /a/ vs. /i/, which is retained in Cº-bases, may have been morphologized so that it is associated with the Perfect and Past, respectively. Cº-bases, being in the minority, are the easy target for paradigm leveling: Past Cº-bases replaced original *-ci- with -ki- perhaps on analogy to the -ka- of the Perfect. The replacement of the past endings may have had also a phonetic motivation. According to our scenario, *-c.i extended to both finite and non-finite paradigms. Immediately afterwards, the verb class system begins to collapse: consonant bases are converted into vowel bases. The natural evolution of *-c-, i.e., *-s- > -h- and eventually ∅, would seriously compromise the integrity of the entire past system (stage V in Table 7.7 where -a- is the regular epenthetic vowel, "→" stands for analogical replacement, and ">" indicates regular, non-analogical evolution). Lack of distinctiveness may have triggered the transfer of the k-perfect so that past endings may have more substance.

It goes without saying that this presentation is sketchy and, to the taste of some, may seem insufficient. Undoubtedly, certain aspects of our argumentation require further elaboration. Unfortunately, due to space constraints, we cannot go into further details. We expect to do so in a monographic study where additional formal and functional issues will be brought into consideration (though in a cursory manner, Malchukov 2000 and Kazama 2010 have already addressed some of them). We believe, however, that such a brief out-

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last two are reserved for irregular verbs that have -da- and -sa- in non-past finite formations instead of -ra-) come from *-ra-gii, *-da-gii and *-sa-gii, although there is no evidence whatsoever for *-gii, if anything, only for *-i (Alonso de la Fuente 2015: 22–23). Endings -da- and -sa- are the product of assimilations of regular -ra- in pre-Tungusic consonant bases, although this is an unsettled issue. Benzing mentions forms like Nanay "(dial.)" -ray, -day, Negidal -dayi, or Udihe -day, but all these may be hypercorrect formations which go back to *-ra-r.i or *-da-r.i, with regular *-r- > -y- or ∅. It is possible to speculate that when formants -da- and -sa- became opaque as regards to its original function, *-r.i was once more attached. This question is not crucial in this context and should not detain us.

17   The extension of nasalized allomorphs is not unheard of in NTungusic. In the Lower Amgun dialect of Negidal, the personal endings -ŋin, -ŋitïn, etc. of the First (= Present) Imperative conjugation have been generalized over the regular -gin, -gitïn, etc.

TABLE 7.7   *Proposed evolution of the Udihe past system*

	*I			*II	
	Past	**Perfect**		**Past**	**Perfect**
Finite	Vᵒ-ca	Vᵒ-ka	→	Vᵒ-c.i	Vᵒ-ka
	Cᵒ-ca	Cᵒ-ka		Cᵒ-c.i	Cᵒ-ka
Non-finite	Vᵒ-c.i			Vᵒ-c.i	
	Cᵒ-c.i			Cᵒ-c.i	

	*III			*IV	
	Past	**Perfect**		**Past**	**Perfect**
Finite	Vᵒ-si	Vᵒ-'a	>	Vᵒ-(h)V	Vᵒ-'a
	Cᵒ-si	Cᵒ-ka		Cᵒ-si	Cᵒ-ka
Non-finite	Vᵒ-si			Vᵒ-(h)V	
	Cᵒ-si			Cᵒ-si	

	**V			VI	
	Past	**Perfect**		**Past**	**Perfect**
Finite	Vᵒ-(h)V	Vᵒ-'a	→	Vᵒ-V	Vᵒ-'a
	Cᵒ-si ~ -.a-(h)V	Cᵒ-ka		Cᵒ-*ki* ~ -.a-(h)V	Cᵒ-*ka*
Non-finite	Vᵒ-(h)V			Vᵒ-V	
	Cᵒ-si ~ -.a-(h)V			Cᵒ-*ki* ~ -.a-(h)V	

line of the evolution of the Tungusic past system is more than enough to make clear our initial suspicion: the data does not support the logic behind the development *... n-kay > NTungusic *-caa vs. STungusic *-ka ~ *-ki, and therefore, it cannot be used as parallel in our discussion of the *k~c* alternation in the diminutive.

Building on Sunik's suggestion that NTungusic *-caa comes from *-tay (it should be borne in mind that Sunik believes that *-tay is another past marker that exists alongside *-kay > STungusic *-ka ~ *-ki) and the properties of Tungusic palatalization (the only context where a dorsal /k/ can change to /c/ is after dental assimilation in nasal + velar clusters), we automatically assumed that

the correct reconstruction in this context is *… n+kay. We found some support in that (1) the fluctuating results of historical diphtongoids could account for the distribution of markers in STungusic and (2) the realization -*nci* of *… n-ki in class II verbs in Ulcha partially replicates the development of the past tense in Tungusic. Now it is crystal-clear that (1) is based on an incorrect interpretation of the data and (2) is purely circumstantial.

At the same time, and curiously enough, this conclusion does not cancel the validity of the general statement about palatalization in Tungusic: it does not target dorsal consonants, unless they are followed by nasal /n/ and have undergone dental assimilation. The only exception to this rule is expressive palatalization.

4   Diminutives

In the previous two sections we have discussed the basics of expressive palatalization and palatalization in Tungusic as well as the false reasoning leading to our reconstruction of the PP *-kay- > *-caa- suffix. In what follows, we will re-evaluate our previous reconstruction of the diminutive suffix under the light of these facts.

The so-called "diminutive" suffix can be found in a variety of forms: with initial /c/, /k/, geminate /kk/, or /x/ in those languages where the sound change *[-k-] > /x/ was active. Needless to say, germination of /k/ in some variants should be linked to expressiveness too, and offer a direct link with the interrogative particle =(*k*)*ka*. Double formations are well documented too, e.g. LEwen & LEwenki +*kakan*, Negidal +*kakkan* ~ +*yakkan* ~ +*xakkan*, etc.[18] Curiously enough, there are languages where the +*caan* variant is not described in grammars, but it is preserved in lexical items, hiding sometimes a productive pattern, or just as an apparent fossilized component in some words, e.g. Western Oroqen *oxocon* '(small) fish' (Whaley / Fengxiang 2000: 125) where the word has replaced the regular, more common *olo* 'fish'. This is nothing but confirmation that the C-dim belongs to the marginal subsystem of the language (Joseph 1997: 199).

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18   Expressive elements tend to be borrowed. The +*kaan* suffix is not exception, and borrowing occurs even at the intra-Tungusic level. Sometimes we can observe the result of the inherited formations cohabiting with the borrowed one, although sometimes the suggestion may be made that naturalization has taken place instead of regular inheritance, e.g. Negidal +*kaan* (borrowed) vs. +*xaan* (inherited or naturalized).

Oroch +*c(a)kaa(n)* is a double formation with E-pal affecting only the first component. Russian may have been contributed to the uniqueness of the Oroch combination +*c(a)kaa(n)*, nowhere else attested within Tungusic. In Russian, the diminutives of feminine and neuter substantives take -*čk*- as in *lóžečka, zvëdočka, jábločko, serdéčko*, from *lóžka* 'spoon', *zvezdá* 'star', *jábloko* 'apple', *sérdce* 'heart' (see, *i.a.*, Stankiewicz 1954: 464). Note that bilingualism, with Russian as the dominant language, was the common situation in the recent history of the language, one currently on the verge of extinction.

Apparently, only in Orok there is no trace of *+kaan, the only diminutive suffix described for this language being +*ta* (Petrova 1967: 34, Ozolinja 2013: 38), from +*ca(n)*, with the characteristic depalatalization that takes place in this language.

Udihe +*jiga* is traditionally said to go back to the complex suffix *Vº-tkaan ~ *... n+cikaan (Boldyrev 1987: 163–167, esp. 165) which is related to childish language. It can be suggested that it is a back formation of *Vº+cakaan, from *Cº+tkaan → *-cikaan ~ *-jikaan (with epenthetic /i/).[19] Interestingly enough, Nikolaeva and Tolskaya give two variants, +*jiga* and +*jig'a*, the second one containing a pharangilezed segment (conventionally written ⟨'⟩) whose origins perhaps should be sought in the geminated */kk/. Note, however, that describing in more satisfactory terms the historical solution of geminates in Udihe remains a task for the future. Be that as it may, the regular outcomes of *+caan and *+cakaan are preserved in the non-productive diminutive suffixes +*c'a* / +*s'a* (for adjectives) and +*s'a* / +*sa* (for nouns).

The reason why *+kaan yields Jurchenic +*kan* instead of the regular **+*han* is because the nasal base variant generalized over the vowel base variant. In a purely synchronic plane, traditional descriptions have that final -*n* is lost after +*kan* has been attached, e.g. *hatan* 'strong' > *hata-kan* 'rather strong', but vowel base *goro* 'far' > *goro-kon* 'a bit far'. The nasal segment is lost afterwards due to analogy to vowel bases and the general tendency to avoid sequences with two contiguous nasals in closed syllables. Some of these nasals (now called "stable nasals") have been preserved in those contexts where an alternative

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19   Alternative solutions, like e.g. the suggestion (Sunik 1982: 112) that a word related to WM *jui* 'child', *ju-se* 'children' (perhaps a loanword from Chinese 子 *zǐ* 'child', back then [tsɨ], cf. Pulleyblank 1991: 420) might have been behind the first part of the *+ci-kaan suffix, the vocalism of which was apparently preserved in LNanay +*joã* or Ulcha +*jua(n-)* < *+ju-kaan (?), can be safely rejected. Back vocalism in LNanay and Ulcha is most likely secondary, due to the tendency of the Amurian languages to labialize vowels standing before or after dorsal and labial consonants.

solution was devised, that is, to introduce an epenthetic vowel which breaks the consonant cluster. This mechanism is rare in Jurchenic, but very common in the rest of Tungusic.

This suffix has the meaning of diminutive when appears on nouns. But when the same suffix is attached to adjectives, it conveys the function of moderative suffix, i.e., 'rather …', and in case it is attached to numerals, then it expresses limitation (a semantic extension of the moderative nuance). This suffix is not exclusive of nouns and adjectives, but it can appear also with pronouns and various verb formations, and it always conveys the meaning of some kind of meliorative, affective nuance that it is not always easy to translate, e.g. Negidal *ägdiŋä* 'big' → *ägdiŋä-kkään* 'rather big', *yexun?* 'who' → *yexu-kaan?*, *mina-wä* '(to) me' → *mina-kkän-mä* (where *minä-* is the suppletive ACC of *bi* 'I'), *bicää* 'former' (past participle of *bi-* 'to be') → *bicää-kkään*, etc. (Khasanova / Pevnov 2003: 252).[20]

As mentioned on several occasions throughout this paper, the assumption was made that vowel length in the diminutive may be the natural evolution of an original diphthongoid and, in this particular case, a diphthongoid could account for the existence of both K-dim and C-dim, the latter being the result of palatalization triggered by the *yod* segment of the diphthongoid. Therefore, it was a mechanical procedure what led to the claim that the diminutive suffix, like the past marker, might have a similar (pre)history. That is, we could assume that in the parent language the diminutive suffix contained a diphthongoid. However, the /a/ ~ /i/ ~ vowel length alternations documented in all languages for the past (tense) is unheard of in the case of the diminutive suffix. Put another way, vowel length in the diminutive seems to be primary, that is, the diminutive contained a long vowel already in the parent language. It is not a secondary development. Therefore, we lack the necessary trigger to assume that P-pal explains the C-dim. We have no evidence to argue for a historical scenario in the traditional sense (i.e., regular sound change).

Our alternative solution is far simpler than we would expect: expressive palatalization targets the initial velar consonant of the diminutive, resulting in the *k~c* alternation. Coronal palatalization, in this particular case, does not require us to assume the existence of the nasal + velar cluster or the diphthongoid.

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20   Whaley and Fengxiang (1998), although restricting themselves to Oroqen data alone, offer a valid semantic analysis which holds true for the entire Tungusic family (they are concerned with the apparently incompatible identification both as a diminutive and intensifier, in spite of this being a rather cross-linguistically common feature).

Few descriptions mention the semantic specialization of the +*caan* variant, i.e., childishness (this is only obvious in the case of the secondary formation *Vᵒ-tkaan ~ *... n+cikaan). Hints pointing to this characterization are also few. For instance, Rišes explains that the variant +*san* (note the sound correspondence Arman -*s*- : LEwen -*c*- is regular) is commonly used with possessive and reflexive endings. This seems to accentuate the affective nuance. The most explicit statement can be found in Avrorin and Boldyrev's Oroch grammar. Describing various diminutive suffixes, Avrorin and Boldyrev see +*ka*(*n*) as the regular suffix, whereas they define +*c*(*a*)*kaa*(*n*) in more specific terms: it is used for people and animal youngs, but also for what could be called childish diminutives, e.g. *xiikkäxkää*(*n*) 'boy child', from *xikkä* 'young', *ackaa*(*n*) 'girl child', from *asa ~ axa* 'girl', *nagüc*(*a*)*kaa*(*n*) 'elk calf (one year)', from *nagüna* 'female elk (with calves)', but *äwicäkää*(*n*), from *äwi*(*n*) 'game, playing', etc. We believe that this brief characterization is enough to lend more support the our assumption that the +caan suffix is in reality the result of applying E-pal to the original +*ka*(*n*) suffix.

5 Conclusions

It is our understanding that in the particular case of the K-dim and C-dim in Tungusic the contribution of typology is crucial to avoid one of the most infamous methodological pitfalls of historical linguistics: over-reconstruction. Typology provides the general conditions under which E-pal operates: contrary to P-pal, it does not require the presence of a front vowel (trigger) as in P-pal. More importantly, cross-linguistic research has shown that E-pal usually does not target the same consonants as do P-pal. Tungusic confirms this fact: P-pal targets only dentals, whereas the effects of E-pal can be observed only in dorsals. Consequences for reconstruction are immediately obvious:

(1) To claim spontaneous palatalization due to pragmatics (expressiveness, child language, etc.) is perfectly consistent with the facts presented and analysed in recent cross-linguistic research.

(2) We do not need to assume the presence of a diphthongoid in the diminutive suffix. The palatalization of /k/, which was the only evidence in support of reconstructing the diphthongoid, now can be account for in such a way that it solves all the problems and do not pose additional questions.

Therefore, we can reconstruct *+kaan ~ *+caan and, what is more important, now we are in a position to explain why we have two variants.

The parallel of the past formation offered in support of the sequence "nasal + velar" for the diminutive suffix turned out to be false. Our analysis of the various past systems in the historical languages suggests that an alternative solution which, again, does not require the sequence "nasal + velar" is available. Moreover, this second scenario resolves many unsettled questions regarding the Tungusic past system, including the existence of more than one past formation and the origins of the peculiar distribution of past markers in STungusic.

There is a good methodological lesson to be learnt. If evidence is not evaluated properly, mechanical reconstruction which is one of the most dangerous pitfalls of the comparative method (especially when it comes to internal reconstruction) may lead to the wrong conclusion.

Appendix. Comparative Data

The comparative data is set up in the following table,[21] which includes the Proto-Tungusic reconstruction at which we arrived in the previous section (abbreviations: Imprf = imperfect, PP = Past participle, Prt = preterite, PT = Past tense):

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21 Data sources: Arman: Rišes 1947: 122 (K-dim & C-dim), 248 (PP); Kilen & Kili: Sem 1976: 35 (K-dim), 68 (PT), 78 (PP), Sunik 1958: 62 (K-dim), 93 (PP), 97 (PT); LEwen: Cincius 1947: 80–82 (K-dim & C-dim), 220–221 (PP), LEwenki: Konstantinova 1964: 80–81 (K-dim & C-dim), 141–142 (PP), 172–173 (PT), 171–172 (Distal Past); LNanay: Avrorin 1959: 108 (K-dim), 1961: 67, 79 (PP), 1961: 104 (PT); Negidal: Myl'kova / Cincius 1931: 157 (K-dim), 165 (PP), Cincius 1982: 21 (K-dim), Xasanova / Pevnov 2003: 252 (K-dim), 266 (PP), 274 (PT); Oroch: Avrorin / Boldyrev 2001: 72 (K-dim & C-dim), 156, 303 (PT), 254 (rare PP); Orok: Ozolinja 2013: 38 (C-dim), Petrova 1967: 34 (C-dim), 96–97 (PP); Oroqen: Whaley /Fengxiang 1998 (K-dim), Hu 1986: 45 (K-dim), 104–105 (PT), 116–117 (PP); Solon: Poppe 1931: 131 (PT & PP), Hu / Chaoke 1986: 45 (K-dim); Udihe: Nikolaeva / Tolskaya 2001: 149–150, 155–156, 184–185 (K-dim & C-dim), 209 (PT), 230 (PP); Ulcha: Petrova 1936: 55 (imperfectum), 73 (K-dim); WManchu: Gorelova 2002: 155–156 (K-dim & C-dim), 256–257 (PP), 290–291 (PT).

Language	Ending	Diminutive	
		K-dim	C-dim
LEwenki	PT & PP *-caa* (Distal Past *-ŋki*)	+*kaan*	+*caan*
LEwen	(PT *-ri*) Perfect participle *-ca*	+*kan*	+*can*
Arman	(PT *-ri-*) PP *-saa*	+*k(aa)kaan* ~ +*xaakaan*, +*kaan* ~ +*xaan*	+*san*
Negidal	PT & PP *-caa*	+*kkaan* ~ *xkaan*, +*kaan* ~ +*xaan*	—
Oroqen	PT & PP *-caa*	+*kaan*	—
Solon	PT & PP Vᵒ-*saa*, Cᵒ-*caa*	+*x(a)xan*	—
Oroch	PT & PP *-xa-* ~ *-ki-* (irregular PP *-ca-*)	+(*k*)*ka*(*n*)	+*c(a)kaa*(*n*)
Udihe	PastT vowel length (< *-cV-) ~ *-ki-* PrfT laryngealized vowel (< *-kV-) ~ *-ka-* PastP vowel length (< *-cV-) ~ *-ki-*	+*cʻa* / +*sʻa* (adjectives) +*sʻa* / +*sa* (nouns) (+*jiga*)	—
LNanay	PT *-ka-* (irregular *-ca-*) PP *-xa-* ~ *-Ki-*	+*kan*	—
Kili & Kilen	PT *-ka-* PP *-xa-* ~ *-Ki-*	+*kan*	—
Ulcha	PT & PP *-xa-* ~ *-ci-* (*-kpi*)	+*kan*	—
Orok	PT & PP *-xa-* ~ *-ci-*	—	+*ta* < *+*ca*(n)
WManchu	PT *-habi* (~ *-ngkabi* /-ŋkaβi/) PP *-ha* ~ *-ka* (~ *-ngka* /-ŋka/)	+*kan*	+*can*
PTungusic	ImprfT *-c-aa, ImprfP *-c.i → NT *-caa PrtT *-k-aa, PrtP *-k.i → ST *Vᵒ-ka, *Cᵒ-ki	*+*kaan*	*+*caan*

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From Tatar to Magyar: Notes on Central Eurasian Ethnonyms in *-r*

Juha Janhunen*

Even a quick look at ethnonyms, including tribal names and clan names, in Central Eurasia reveals that there is one structural type that is conspicuously common all over the region, from Manchuria in the east to Hungary in the west. This type is formed by the ethnonyms that end in *-r*, that is, a dental or alveolar trill [r]. The quality of the sound itself can vary slightly depending on the language and geographical area: for instance, in some languages it can be realized as a retroflex continuant without vibration, but such details are not relevant for the present discussion. The essential thing is that *-r* in the languages concerned functions as a distinct consonant phoneme which contrasts with other dentals, notably the lateral *-l*. Languages with a reduced system of liquids, or with no syllable-final consonants, may be excluded from the present discussion.

Since ethnonyms often end up being used as personal names, there are also many personal names, both given names and surnames, that are based on ethnonyms in *-r*. Particularly many examples can be found among Hungarians, whose list of common ethnonymic surnames includes such as Bolgár, Kazár, Mizser, and Tatár. The endonym of the Hungarians, *magyar*, is itself used as a surname. It happens that the exonym of the Hungarians, that is, *hungar* or *ungar*, which also appears as a surname (Ungar, Unger etc.), though not in Hungary, also ends in *-r*. Historically, there have been other ethnic groups, notably the Avar, who were present in Hungary, and whose name likewise has a final *-r*.

Without making a more generalizing quantitative or statistical analysis of the actual frequency of the ethnonyms in *-r*, as compared with other structural types, the present paper will attempt a preliminary qualitative synthesis of some of the reasons why *-r* is such a common final consonant in Eurasian ethnonyms. As will be seen, it is largely a question of coincidences and parallel

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*   A preliminary version of this paper was first presented in oral form at the symposium Volga-Ural-Altai at the University of Turku on 26 April, 2016.

developments that have led to the formation of a uniform type in different geographical, linguistic and ethnic contexts, and from originally different sources. Of course, there may have been a general trend involved, in that when a given structural type becomes common, it tends to increase its frequency by all available means.

1 *-r* as a Part of the Root

In some ethnonyms, though not in many, *-r* is simply a part of the word root with no separate etymological status or grammatical function. A case in point is the name of the Western Mongol *Jungar* confederation, on which the geographical name *Jungaria* is also based. According to a transparent and generally accepted explanation, *Jungar*, with variant spellings such as *Dzungar* or *Zünghar* (or also *Junghar*, *Dschungar* etc., depending on the language of writing), derives from the Mongolic compound *juun+gar*, Oirat *dzüün+ghar*, Written Mongol ⟨jaguv qhar⟩ for **jexün+gar* 'left hand/arm' = 'eastern flank' (Atwood 2004: 621–624). In this compound, the final *-r* just happens to be the last consonant in the Mongolic word *gar* 'hand, arm'.

There are also many ethnonyms in which a final *-r* cannot be explained since there is no information on the lexical meaning of the underlying word or words. A well-known example is offered by *Sibir*, Russian *Сибирь*, once the name of a Tatar fort in Western Siberia the conquest of which opened the way for the Russian expansion into *Siberia*. Many hypotheses have been proposed concerning the etymology of *Sibir*, including popular etymologies like the derivation from Tatar *sib-* 'to sleep' and *(y)ir* 'land', often quoted in travel brochures (see e.g. Ferguson 2007). However, the only thing certain seems to be that there is a connection with the ancient ethnonym *Sabir*, recorded as Σάβιροι in Greek sources. What the role of *-r* in this item is remains unclarified. The problem is that it is not known what language the Sabir spoke. Should it turn out that they spoke a Bulghar Turkic language, as has been proposed (cf. e.g. Sinor 1990: 200, Golden 1990: 259–260), then, of course, the final *-r* could be explained as a Turkic suffixal element (see section 5 below).

In this connection, the geographical name *Manchuria*, Russian *Маньчжурия*, may also be mentioned. In international usage, Manchuria is a formal parallel to names such as Siberia and Jungaria. However, the *-r-* in *Manchuria* seems to be due to secondary analogy, since the ethnonym *Manchu* (*manju*, see Stary 1990), Mongolian *manji > manj* has no original final consonant (though theoretically this is difficult to verify, since Manchu has lost syllable-final liquids). Mongolian has also the shape *Manjuur*, still used as the name of the

border settlement Manchuria, Chinese *Manzhouli* 滿洲里, in Transbaikalia, but this form is more likely due to Russian influence in Mongolian than vice versa.

2   *-r* as a Turkic Participle Marker

Another small group of ethnonyms in *-r* are those in which the final consonant would seem to be the Turkic aorist participle marker **-(V)r*. Participles in *-r* are present in all Turkic languages, though there are differences in their functions and frequency. However, the explanation of *-r* as a participle marker in ethnonyms is not always straightforward, since the underlying meaning of the ethnonym is not clear. For instance, the ethnonym *Salar*, or *Salur, Salïr*, looks like a participle from the verb *sal-* 'to throw, to thrust, to build', but it is not clear on which particular meaning of this verb it would be based (Hahn 1988: 241 note 15).

The most famous case of a possible Turkic participle as an ethnonym is offered by the name of the Khazar, on which the geographical name *Khazaria* is also based. *Khazar*, also spelled *Qazar, Kazar, Hazar, Xäzär*, etc., is conventionally assumed to be based on the verb *käz-* (*kez-*) 'to rove, to wander', from which the name *Kazak, Kazakh, Qazaq*, is occasionally also derived (for a somewhat different explanation, see Hahn 1988: 249 note 14). This derivation has a problem in the vocalism (*a* from *ä/e*), though harmonic pairs are not uncommon in ethnonymy. An alternative verbal source could be the verb *kas-* 'to (op)press', but explanations not based on verbal roots, including the possibility of a connection with the name of Caesar, has also been proposed (for a summary of the etymological literature, see Golden 2007, cf. also Rybatzki 2006: 530–531 s.v. *Qasar*).

3   *-r* as a Tungusic Plural Marker

We are moving on a much safer ground when it comes to ethnonyms in which the final *-r* can be explained as a plural suffix. Ethnonyms as such are often plural forms of nominal stems, and plural markers are common in their composition. In Eurasia, the situation is complicated by the fact that *-r* forms plurals in several different languages and language families, including the three "Altaic" families Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic. In Tungusic, *-r* forms the plural of nouns which in the singular end in *-n*, while nouns ending in a vowel form the plural by the suffix *-l*. The etymological relationship *-n : -r* remains

unexplained: we do not know whether the relationship is originally suppletive (-*l* vs. -*r*) or phonetic (-*r* from the combination of -*n+l*).

There are many Tungusic tribal names that end in -*r*, and often the singular form in -*n* is also attested either as an ethnonym or in an appellative function. Examples are offered by the Amur Tungusic names *Kiler* (also singular *Kilen*), *Hejer* (also singular *Hejen*, *Hezhen* etc.), and *Samar* (singular *saman* 'shaman'). The name of the Shantar Islands (north of the Amur delta region) belongs here, being the plural form of *Santan*, an alternative name of the Ulcha on the Lower Amur, also attested as the name of the Santan trade, Japanese *santan boueki* 山 丹貿易, a trade route extending from Japan over Sakhalin to the Amur.

It may be mentioned that the plural marker -*r* is also present in the well-known suffix -*gir*/-*giir*, as attested in dozens of Northern Tungusic clan names, such as *Kaltagir*, *Manyagir* (*Manegir*), *Yukagir* (*Yukaghir*) and many others (for a comprehensive list, see ERS 576–586). In bilingual Tungusic-Mongolic environments, like among the Khamnigan, these clan names can also be used in the Mongolic plural form in -*giid*, as in *Bayagiid* = *Bayagir* (Janhunen 1991: 18–20). The suffix itself has also been present historically in Mongolic, where the singular shape -*gin* is preserved in, for instance, *Borjigin* (the clan name of Chinggis Khan and many modern Mongols), apparently connected with the river name *Boorji*, Russian *Борзя*.

Since the Tungusic language family originated in south-eastern Manchuria, it is not likely that Tungusic ethnonyms can have spread very far west in Eurasia, for which reason we should be careful when proposing Tungusic etymologies for Western Eurasian ethnonyms. Even so, ethnonyms are known to travel over vast distances. A possible example of this is the name of the Avar, Ἄβαροι in Byzantine sources, which could reflect the Tungusic plural of *ewen* < **epe-n*, as still today used in the names of the Northern Tungusic Ewenki and Ewen in Siberia and Manchuria. The same ethnonym has been assumed to be present in *Wuhuan* 烏桓 or *Wuwan* 烏丸, the name of an otherwise little-known protohistorical ethnic group in north-western Manchuria (Doerfer 1985: 276, cf. also Tang 2008: 162). In the lack of independent evidence, all of this remains hypothetical, of course.

4   -*r* as a Mongolic Plural Marker

When the Russians arrived on the Amur, they encountered a population whom they identified as *Jucher* or *Дючер* (with many spelling variants, see e.g. Dolgix 1960: 589–591) This is obviously the plural in -*r* from the ethnonym *Juchen* or *Jurchen*, the pre-Qing-dynasty name of the Manchu. One could think that

Jucher is another northern Tungusic plural form corresponding to a singular form in *-n*. However, the people whom the Russians met on the Upper Amur were actually Dagur, and the *-r* in *Jucher* must be the Dagur plural marker *-r*, which derives from Proto-Mongolic **-d* due to the so-called Dagur rhotacism. In other words, *Jucher* goes back to the Mongolic plural **jöci-d* (Janhunen 2004).

Since Dagur is the only Mongolic language in which *-r* is attested as a plural marker we cannot expect to have many widespread ethnonyms of this type. Another possible example is the name *Dagur* itself, attested also as *Dahur*, *Dawur*, *Daur*. However, in this case, no singular form of the type **Dagun* is attested. It is therefore also possible that *Dagur*, Common Mongolic *daguur* < **daga-xur*(-), is a deverbal noun based on *daga-* 'to follow', a reference to the fact that the Dagur were the Mongols who first separated from the others and 'followed' the Jurchen. Other explanations of the ethnonym Dagur appear less likely.

An entirely separate case of *-r* in a Mongolic ethnonym is present in *Monguor*, also (Minhe) *Mangghuer*, as used for all or certain groups of the Mongolic speakers in Amdo Qinghai (north-eastern Tibet). Here, the final *-r* (pronounced as a retroflex continuant) represents a regular phonetic development of *-l* in *Mongol* (DMF 240). The ethnonym *Mongol* itself has been a matter of much discussion (see e.g. Rybatzki 2006: 606–607), but the possibility remains (once proposed by James Bosson, personal communication) that it could be a Tungusic plural in *-l*, in which case the base would be *monggo-* < ?*munga* or ?*mangu*, perhaps connected with Tungusic (*)manga 'hard, strong' (SSTM 1: 529–530).

5   *-r* as a Turkic Plural Marker

Much more widespread than Tungusic and Mongolic plurals in *-r* are ethnonyms of a Turkic origin in which *-r* also functions as a plural marker. This *-r* is peculiar to the Bulgharic branch of Macro-Turkic and represents a result of the Turkic rhotacism, which changed original **-s* to (*)-*r* after bimoraic or longer sequences, while in the (Common) Turkic branch **-s* developed into **-z* under similar conditions (see e.g. Janhunen 2015: 192). The distinction between the two branches may be illustrated by the opposition of the tribal names *Oghuz* and *Oghur*, which ultimately reflect the plural form **ok.u-s* 'arrows' from **ok* 'arrow' (EWbT 359).

According to a generally accepted etymology, the ethnonym *Ungar > Hungar*, with the geographical pendant *Hungaria*, derives from Bulghar Turkic

on+ogu-r 'ten arrows'. Another example is *Tatar* < **tata-s*, based on the singular shape **tata*. This may originally have been the name of a Para-Mongolic-speaking people in north-western Manchuria, known in Khitan as *t.ad.ar* = †*tatar* (Wu & Janhunen 2010: 183) and in Old Turkic as *tata-bï*. Later, the name *Tatar* became attached to many other Mongolic and Turkic populations. The Chinese reflex **tat* > *da* 韃 : *dazi* 韃子 is also used for several ethnic groups in the Amur region, including the Chinese-speaking *Taz*, Russian *тазы*. In Europe a confusion with Τάρταρος gave rise to the popular shapes *Tartar* and *Tartaria* (see also Tatár 2003, Atwood 2004: 528–530).

There are many other ethnonyms which very possibly are Bulghar Turkic plurals in **-r*, but for which the case remains open since the singular shapes are not reliably attested. A case in point is *Bulghar*, *Bolgar*, which could perhaps be based on a singular shape **bUlga*. The latter could, in turn, be a reflex of the hydronym *Volga*, which has a probable Indo-European (Slavic or Pre-Slavic) etymology (ESR 1: 336–337). The later fate of *Bulghar* serves as an example on how ethnonyms can be transferred from one geographical region (Volga) and from one linguistic environment (Turkic) to another (Slavic in the Balkans).

6   -*r* in the Ethnonym *magyar*

It may be concluded that -*r* in Central Eurasian ethnonyms is most often a plural marker. In this function, it can be Tungusic (**-n* : pl. **-r*), Mongolic (Dagur **-d* > -*r*), or Bulghar Turkic (**-s* > -*r*). This should be kept in mind when we look for explanations for the ethnonym *magyar*. In fact, the most likely explanation of *magyar* is that it is a Bulghar Turkic plural in -*r* from the singular shape *magy.a* < **mancA*, which, indeed, is attested among the Ob-Ugrians as the ethnonym of the Mansi and the fratria name of the Moś section of the Khanty. The name itself is a well-known Indo-European loanword, reflecting an original of the type **manuc-A-* < **manu-s* 'human being' (see e.g. Korenchy 1972: 60).

According to a conventional explanation, *magyar* is a compound based on the ethnonym *magy-* and the appellative noun **er* 'man'. The latter component is assumed to be present also in Hungarian *ember* (*embër*) 'human being' (< 'woman+man'), and *férj* 'husband': *férfi* 'man' < **fi+er(+fi)* (< 'son+man'), and is conventionally derived from hypothetical Finno-Ugric **VrkV* or **irkä* 'man, male' (MSzFE 1: 150–151, 203, 2: 415–417, UEW 84), which is also supposed to be the source of Finnish *ylkä* 'bridegroom' (SSA 3: 490, 492). For multiple reasons, this explanation cannot be correct. Turkologists have long maintained that if there ever was a Hungarian word like **är* (**er*) 'man', it would more likely derive from Turkic *er* (*är* < **häärä*) 'man' (EWbT 46), which is both formally

and semantically compatible with it, and which, incidentally, is also present in Hungarian *érdem* 'merit' (WOT 328).

In fact, the whole idea of analysing *magyar* as a compound lies on a shaky ground. The main argument for this analysis has been the fact that *magyar* also appears in the front-vocalic shape *megyer*. However, harmonic variation of this type can be caused by many other factors, including the palatal medial consonant. The palatal and velar shapes of the ethnonym seem to be old, since they are also attested among other Uralic and Turkic-speaking populations today inhabiting the former homeland of the *Magyar* in the Volga-Ural region, notably the *Bashkir* (*Bashqort*) and the *Misher*, but also the *Meshchera*. The element *bash-* in *Bashkir* is in fact an exact Turkic reflex of **manca*, due to phonological developments and/or automatic phonotactic adaptations on the Turkic side (cf. Baskakov 1984).

It may be concluded that the ethnonym *magyar* is most likely a Bulghar Turkic plural form of *magy-* < **manca*, a generic item of an Indo-European appellative origin that was once widely used in the Volga-Ural region to denote local populations. The variation *magyar* vs. *megyer* does in no way contradict this analysis. Of course, it is impossible to say whether *-r* was a productive plural suffix at the time when the form **manca-r* was created, for it could also have been an element added to tribal names on the analogy of other, older formations. However this may be, the element *-r* in *magyar* is a Turkic suffix, ultimately deriving from the Pre-Proto-Turkic plural marker **-s*.

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A Mongolian Text of Confession

Olivér Kápolnás and Alice Sárközi

In 1967 Louis Ligeti published three Buddhist confession texts. He stated that such texts were incorporated in larger books as e.g. the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (*Altan gerel*) and go back to Uighur and Tibetan originals.

Heissig mentions a book of confession written by the author of Tibetan Historical Works, Grub mts'a šel-gyi me long (1737–1802): *Ilaju tegüs nögčigsen ɣučin tabun sayibar oduɣsan-dur sitüjü unal namančilaqui jang üile busud-un tusa-yin naran-u gerel kemegdekü orosiba.*[1] It's size is 42×10 cm and consists of 61 fol. The same xylograph is listed in the collection of Toyo Bunko: No. 59: *Ilaju tegüs nögčigsen ɣučin tabun sayibar oduɣsan-dur sitüjü unal namančilaqui jang üile busud-un tusa-yin naran-u gerel kemegdekü orosibai* "The ritual of the prayer of atonement for backsliding, made in reliance on the Thirty-Five perfectly Victorious Well-Gone Ones, called the Sunlight for the Benefit of others is contained herein." It contains the ceremony of sacrifice to the Thirty-Five Tathāgatas, called the 'moonlight of the stage of salvation'. It also gives the name of the scribe, a certain Blo bzang don grub from the Ordos banner.

The Kanjur gives (No 1130) a text of confession: *Anggida tonilɣaɣči sudur* Tib. *So sor thar pa'i mdo* Skr. *Prātimoksa-sūtra*, a translation of Kun-dga 'od-zer Mañjuśrī pandita, Tunding gusi darqan blam-a and toyin Gunding gusi čorji. This book consists of two parts: the first gives 1–16r and the second one: 16r–29v.

We found some manuscripts of confession in private possession that seem to be different from the above mentioned ones:

MS 1: *Tabun čoɣča-yin sudur* "Sūtra of the five aggregates" (7 leaves)
MS 2: *Čoɣtu zandan-u ɣučin tabun burqad-un emün-e gem unal namančilaqu yosun* "Majestic sandal(wood)—confession of sins before the thirty-five Buddhas" (8 leaves)
MS 3: *Ɣuči tabun mörgülte čoɣtu zingdan-a kemekü sudur* "Majestic sandal (wood)—prayer to the thirty-five Buddhas" (5 leaves)

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1 Heissig, Blockdrucke No. 207.

MS 4:   *Kilinča-ni arilγan namangčilaqui altan kiruγar neretü sudur* "Golden
         saw of confession that purifies sins" (12 leaves)

MS 5:   *Kilinča-yi namangcilayci usun-u* [?] *altan tuuji* "Golden legend of water
         [?] that confesses sins" (21 leaves)

MS 6:   *Altan kiruγur kemekü sudur-a orošibai* "Sūtra of the golden saw" (9
         leaves)

MS 7:   *Kiling namancilaqu altan kiraγanur kemegdekü sudur orosiba* "Sūtra of
         the golden saw of confessing sins" (11 leaves).

MS 8:   *Neyite-yin namangcilal-yin sudur* "Sūtra of community confession" (3
         leaves)

The manuscripts MS 1, MS 2, MS 3 are identical with the difference that MS 2
gives technical instructions to the devotees. All of them offer nearly the same
list of the 35 Bodhisattvas—these variants are listed in footnotes. MS 4, MS 5,
MS 6, MS 7 are not identical and give a different list of Bodhisattvas. MS 8 is a
short text of community confession.

   All these manuscripts are worn-out, that means they were frequently used
and recited. Most of them are written with hasty, unskilled hand on poor
paper. We suppose that such texts were circulated among lay people and did
not belong to monastic assembly. However, as the sacred language of the
monasteries was Tibetan, such Mongolian booklets could not mean value for
the lamas. Strangely enough these texts cannot be found in the catalogues of
different collections. Maybe, it is not an easy task to find them, as they bear so
different titles—as shown above. It can also be supposed that they formed a
part of a larger collection.[2]

   In the present paper we publish one of these manuscripts. It is written on
yellowish paper in black ink and contains 7 leaves sized 10 × 20 cm. Spelling of
the text is ambiguous. Both forms: *aγaγ-a* and *aγaγ-q-a* are given, the suffix *tu-
da, tü-de* is joined and written like *-tuda, -tüde*, the word *kilinča* is written with
double *k* initials: *kkilinča* and instead of *üiles-i* we have *üilesei*.

   The title of the booklet: *Tabun čoγča-yin sudur* "Sūtra of the five aggregates"
is strange. Such text is not registered in the catalogues and the term does not
refer to confession, but has an abstract notion of Buddhism, as it is explained
in detail e.g. in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (*Altan gerel*).[3] The expression *γurban*

2 K. Teleki, (*Confession in Mongolian Buddhism*), publishes two versions, a longer and a shorter
   one. The longer one is similar to the one we publish here. She also gives a detailed description
   of the ceremony of confession. Cf. also, Majer, Zs., *A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial
   practice in Present-Day Mongolian Monasteries.*

3 Gy. Kara, 205.

čoγcas "three aggregates" is registered in *Mvy* 74—without enlisting them—probably referring to Skr. *sila, samādhi, prajña* "confession of sin, approval of good deeds, requesting of buddha (for instruction)".[4] The Kanjur gives a sūtra *Qutuγ-tu γurban čoγca*,[5] however, it is not even slightly similar to our text. The "five aggregates" *tabun čoγča* are given in *Mvy* 104–107 as follows: *šaγšabad-un čoγča* "aggregate of morality", *diyan-u čoγča* "aggregate of concentration", *bilig-ün čoγča* "aggregate of higher cognition", *teyin böged tonilqu-yin čoγča* "aggregate of emancipation", *masi toniulγsan belge bilig-i üjekü-yin čoγča* "aggregate of visionary-transcendent cognition of emancipation." It is not evident why the title of the text of confession published here is *Tabun čoγča-yin sudur*.

Parts of the text:

Veneration to the three jewels and to the thirty-five Buddhas of
    Confession,
List of sins and the punishments
List of virtues and rewards
Request for remission of sins

Representation of the thirty-five Buddhas given in the part of Veneration to them is well known. They were incorporated, among others, in the Buddhas' Catalogue of the Lcan-skya Khutugtu published in 1744. This list together with that of the pictures' also gives the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu names of the Buddhas.[6] The names of Buddhas in the text published below are nearly identical with this list. This fact allows the supposition that our text was also compiled in the 17th century.

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4   *Nvy* 74. Cf. Edgerton, 607.

5   Ligeti, No. 1041

6   Lokesh Chandra, 174–270. Cf. also: Meinert, 126–127

佛王尊龍

85. Nāgeśvararāja

Luus-un erketü qaγan, *one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession (from Lokesh Chandra,* Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas, *p. 178)*

Tabun čoɣ=ča-yin sudur oro=sibai
Sūtra of the five aggregates

∵

Text MS 1

1a   *Tabun čoγ=ča-yin sudur oro=sibai ::*

1b   *bi kiged qamuγ amitan nasun ürgüljide blam-a-dur itegemü :*
     burqan-dur itegemü :
     nom-dur itegemü :
     bursang quvarag-ud-tur itegemü : ilaju tegüs nögčigsen tegünčilen iregsen ayaγ-a
        tegimlig ünen tegüs toγoluγsan sigimüni burqan-a mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen vačir jirüken-iyer sayitur ebdegčide mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen erdeni-yin gerel γarγaγčida mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen luus-un erketü qayan-a mörgümü :
2a   *tegünčilen iregsen baγatud-un | ayimaγ-a mörgümü :*
     tegünčilen iregsen bayasqulang-tu baγatura mörgümü :
     tegün=čilen iregsen γal erdeni-tüde mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen sara-yin gerel erdeni-tüde mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen üjeg=seger tusa-tuda mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen saran erdeni-tüde mörgümü :
     tegünčilen iregsen kkir ügegü-tüde mörgümü :

Sūtra of the five aggregates

I and all the living beings take refuge in the Lama,
take refuge in Buddha,
take refuge in the Teaching
take refuge in the Assembly.

I bow down to the Victoriously passed beyond one, to the Thus come priests,
to the Manifest complete Buddha, to Shākyamuni Buddha.
I bow down to the Thus come one, the thoroughly destroyer with Vajra essence.[7]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the jewel radiating light.[8]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the powerful king of the Nagas.[9]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the army of brave ones.[10]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the delightful brave one.[11]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the fire-jewel one.[12]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the one with moonlight jewel.[13]
I bow down to the Thus come one, whose sight causes benefit.[14]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the one with moon jewel.[15]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the stainless one.[16]

2a

7   MS 2. *Vačir-un jirüke-iyer sayitur ebdegči*, MS 3. *Včir-un jirüke-iyer sayitur ebdegči* Lokesh
     Chandra, 174: *Včir jirüken-iyer sayitur ebdegči* Skr. *Vajragarbhapramardin*, Tib. *Rdo rje-ıi
     snying pos rab tu 'joms pa* M. *Wacir efujen akū*

8   MS 2. *Erdeni-iyen gerel sačaraɣuluɣči*, MS 3. *Gerel ɣarqui erdeni*, Lokesh Chandra, 176:
     Erdeni gerel ɣarɣaɣči, Skr. *Ratnārcis*, Tib. *Rin chen'od phros* M. *Boobai eldengge fucihi*

9   MS 2. *Luus-un erketü qaɣan*, MS 3. *Luus-un erkete qaɣan*, L. Chandra, 178: *Luus-un erketü
     qaɣan*, Skr. *Nāgeśvararāja*, Tib. *Lu dbang rgyal-po*, M. *Muduri hani fucihi*

10   MS 2. *Baɣatur-un ayimaɣ*, MS 3. *Baɣatur-un ayimaɣ* L. Chandra, 180: *Baɣatud-un ayimaɣ*,
     Skr *Vīrasena*, Tib. *Dpa' bo'i sde* M. *Baturu aiman i fucihi*

11   MS 2. *Čoɣtu bayasqulang* MS 3. *Čoɣ-tu bayasqulang* L. Chandra, 182: *Bayasqulang čoɣtu*,
     Skr. *Vīranandin*, Tib. *Dpa' dgyes* M. *Urgun erdemungge fucihi*

12   MS 2. *Erdeni-yin sildür* tür MS 3. *Ɣal erdeni*, L. Chandra, 184: *Ɣal erdeni-tü*, Skr. *Ratnāgni*,
     Tib. *Rin chen me* M. *Boobai tuwa fucihi*

13   MS 2. *Erdeni-yin saran gerel*, MS 3. om., L. Chandra, 186: *Erdeni saran gerel-tü*, Skr. *Rat-
     nacandraprabha*, Tib. *Rin chen zla 'od*, M. *Boobai biyai eldengge fucihi*

14   MS 2. *Üjegseger tusatu* MS 3. *Üjegseger tusa-tu*, L. Chandra, 188: *Üjegseger tusatu*, Skr.
     Amoghadarśin, Tib. *Mthong ba don yod*, M. *Sabuha ele tusangga fucihi*

15   MS 2. *Erdeni-yin saran* MS 3. *Saran erdeni*, L. Chandra, 190: *Erdeni saran*, Skr. *Ratnacandra*,
     Tib. *Rin chen zla ab*, M. *Boobai biya fucihi*

16   MS 2. *Kkir ügei*, MS 3. *Kkir ügei*, L. Chandra, 192: *Kkir ügei*, Skr. *Vimala*, Tib. *Dri ma med pa*
     M. *Icihi akū fucihi*

tegünčilen iregsen baɣatur-i öggügčide mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen ariɣun-a mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen ariɣun-i öggügčide mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen usun tngri-de mörgümü :

2b   *tegün=čilen iregsen usun tngri-yin tngri-de | mörgümü :*
tegünčilen iregsen sayin čoɣ=tu-da mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen čoɣtu candan-a mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen kijaɣalal ügei kündü jibqulang-a mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen čoɣtu gerel-tü-de mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen enelküi ügei čoɣtu-tuda mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen quričaqui ügei köbegün-e mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen čečeg-ün čoɣtu-da mörgümü :

I bow down to the Thus come one, the one who gives brave ones.[17]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the pure one.[18]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the one who gives purity.[19]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the water god.[20]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the abode of water god.[21]   2b
I bow down to the Thus come one, the good majestic one.[22]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic sandalwood[23]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the unlimited splendour.[24]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic light.[25]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic one without sorrow.[26]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the son of the desireless one.[27]
I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic flower.[28]

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17   MS 2. *Itegen čoɣ-i öggügči*, MS 3. *Čoɣ öggügči* L. Chandra, 194: *Čoɣ-i öggügči*, Skr. *Śūradatta*, Tib. *Dpal byin*, M. *Toose bure fucihi*

18   MS 2. *Ariɣun*, MS.3. *Ariɣun*, L. Chandra, 196: *Ariɣun burqan*, Skr. *Brahman*, Tib. *Tshangs pa*, M. *Bolgonggo fucihi*

19   MS 2. *Ariɣun-i öggügči*, MS 3. *Ariɣun-i öggügsen*, L. Chandra, 198: *Ariɣun-i öggügči*, Skr. *Brahmadatta*, Tib. *Tshangs pas byin*, M. *Bolgo be bure fucihi*

20   MS 2. *Usun tengri* MS 3 *Usun tengri*, L. Chandra, 200: *Usun tengri*, Skr. *Varuṇa*, Tib. *Chu lha* M. *Muke i abka fucihi*

21   MS 2. *Tngri-yin tngri*, MS 3. *Usun tngri-yin tngri* L. Chandra, 202: *Usun tngri-yin tngri*, Skr. *Varuṇadeva*, Tib. *Chu lha'i lha* M. *Muke i abkai abka fucihi*

22   MS 2. *Sayin čoɣtu*, MS 3. *Sayin čoɣtu*, L. Chandra 204: *Sayin čoɣtu*, Skr. *Bhadraśrī*, Tib. *Dpal bzang* M. *Sain horonggo fucihi*

23   MS 2. *Čoɣtu candan*, MS 3. *Čoɣtu candan*, L. Chandra, 206: *Čoɣtu candan*, Skr. *Candanaśrī*, Tib. *Tsan dan dpal*, M. *Zandan gungge erdemungge fucihi*

24   MS 2 L. *Kijaɣalaši ügei sür jibqulang-tu*, MS 3. *Kijaɣalaši ügei čoɣ jali-ta* Chandra, 208: *Kijaɣalal ügei sür jibqulang-tu*, Skr. Anantanjas, Tib. *Gzi brjid mtha' yas* M. *Mohon akū horonggo fucihi*

25   MS 2. *Gerel-ün čoɣ*, MS 3. *Čoɣ gerel-tü*, L. Chandra, 210: *Čoɣ gerel-tü*, Skr. *Prabhāsarī*, Tib. *'Od dpal* M. *Gungge erdemu i eldengge fucihi*

26   MS 2. *Ɣasalang ügei čoɣ*, MS 3 *Ɣasalang ügei čoɣtu*, L. Chandra, 212: *Ɣasalang ügei čoɣtu*, Skr. *Aśokaśrī*, Tib. *Mya ngan med pa'i dpal* M. *Gasacun akū erdemungge fucihi*

27   MS 2 *Quričal ügei-yin köbegün*, MS 3 *Baɣ-a ügei köbesün*, L. Chandra, 214: *Quričal ügei-yin köbegün*, Skr. *Nārāyaṇa*, Tib. *Sred med-kyi bu*, M. *Buyen akū i jui fucihi*

28   MS 2. *Sečeg-ün čoɣ*, MS 3. *Čoɣtu čičeg*, L. Chandra 216: *Čečeg-ün čoɣ-tu*, Skr. *Kusumaśrī*, Tib. *Me tog dpal* M. *Ilhai gungge erdemungge fucihi*

tegünčilen iregsen ariɣun gerel-iyer čenggen ile medegčide mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen lingqu-a-yin gerel-iyer čenggen ile medegčide mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen ed-ün čoɣtu-da mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen duradqui čoɣtu-da mörgümü :
3a *tegünčilen iregsen | layšan öljei qutuɣ masi sayitur aldarsiɣsan-a mörgümü :*
tegünčilen iregsen erketü oroi-yin tuɣ qaɣan-a mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen masi daruɣči čoɣtu-da mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen bulyalduɣun-i [= bayilduɣun-i] masida ilaɣuɣsan-a mörgümü :
tegünčilen iregsen dayin bügede daruqui-ber iregsen-e mörgümü :

I bow down to the Thus come one, the one who clearly understands and enjoys
   the pure light.[29]

I bow down to the Thus come one, who clearly understands and enjoys the light
   of the lotus.[30]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic treasure.[31]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic mindful one.[32]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the one well famous of his marks and   3a
   blessing.[33]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the king holding the banner of foremost
   power.[34]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic one who totally subdues.[35]

I bow down to the Thus come one, who is victorious in battles.[36]

I bow down to the Thus come one, who came to subdue all.[37]

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29   MS 2. *Ariγun gerel-i teyin činggeküi-ber ilerkei ayiladuγči* MS. 3. *Teyin činggelen padm-a-yin
      gerel ilerkei ayiladuγči*, L. Chandra, 218: *Ariγun gerel-iyer teyin böged činggen ile medegči*,
      Skr. *Brahmajyotirvikrī-ḍitābhijña*, Tib. *Tshangs pa'i 'od zer rnam par rol pas mngon par
      mkhyer pa* M. *Bolgo elden i umesi sebjeleme gehun iletu sara fucihi*

30   MS 2. *Lingqua-yin gerel teyin činggeküi-ber ilerkei ayiladuγči*, MS 3. om., L. Lokesh, 220:
      Lingqua-yin gerel-iyer teyin böged činggen ile medegči, Skr. *Padmajyotirvikrḍi-tābhijña*, Tib.
      Padma' 'od zer rnam par rol pas mngon par mkhyen pa M. *Śu ilhai elden umesi sebjeleme
      gehun iletu sara fucihi*

31   MS 2. *Ed-ün čoγ*, MS 3. *Ed-ün čoγ*, L. Chandra, 222: *Ed-ün čoγtu*, Skr. *Dhanaśrī*, Tib. *Nor dpal*
      M. *Ulin i gungge erdemungge fucihi*

32   MS 2. *Duradqu-yin čoγ*, MS3. *Sanal-un čoγ*, L. Chandra, 224: *Duradqui-yin čoγ-tu*, Skr.
      Smṛtiśrī, Tib. *Drin pa'i dpal* M. *Jondoro gungge erdemungge fucihi*

33   MS 2. *Belge-yin čoγ maši oγoyata aldaršiγsan* MS 3. *Belge čoγ maši oγoyata aldarčiγsan*
      L. Chandra, 226: *Ner-e-yin čoγ masi oγuγata aldarsiγsan*, Skr. *Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī*, Tib.
      Mtshan dpal shin-tu yongs bsgrags M. *Gungge erdemungge colo umesi algika fucihi*

34   MS 2. *Jida-yin oki duvaja-yin qaγan* MS 3. *Oki kinaγaysan*[?] *belge-yin erketü qaγan*, L.
      Chandra 228: *Erke-tü-yin oki duvaja-yin qaγan*, Skr. *Indraketudhvajarāja*, Tib. *Dbang po'i
      tog gi rgyal mtshan gyi rgyal po* M. *Toose i oyo durun i han fucihi*

35   MS 2. *Maši-da teyin daruγči čoγ*, MS 3. *Maši teyin daruγči čoγ-tu*, L. Chandra, 230: *Masi
      teyin böged daruγči čoγ-tu*, Skr. *Suvikrāntaśrī*, Tib. *Shin tu rnam par gnon pa'i dpal* M. *Fuhali
      gidara umesi horonggo fucihi*

36   MS 2. *Bayildaγan-ača maši-da teyin ilaγuγsan*, MS 3. *Bayildaγan-i teyin maši-da ilaγuγsan*,
      L. Chandra, 232: *Bayilduγan-ača masi teyin böged ilaγuγsan*, Skr. *Yuddhajaya*, Tib. *Gyul las
      shin tu rnam par rgyal ba* M. *Dain be fuhali etehe fucihi*

37   MS 2. *Teyin darun ajiraγči čoγ*, MS 3. *Dayin-i darun oduγčisan čoγtu*, L. Chandra, 234: *Teyin
      böged daruγči čoγtu*, Skr. *Vikrāntagāmiśrī*, Tib. *Rnam par gnom pa'i gshegs pa'i dpal* M.
      Umesi eteme enggelenjire fucihi

tegünčilen iregsen qamuɣ-ača geyigülün jokiyaɣsan čoɣtu-da mörgümü :

tegünčilen iregsen erdeni linqu-a-bar masi daruɣsan-a mörgümü :

3b

tegünčilen iregsen ayaɣ-q-a tegimlig ünen tegüs toɣoluɣsan burqan erdeni-tü linqu-a-yin saɣurin-dur sayitur | saɣuɣsan erketü aɣulas-un qaɣan-a mörgümü ::

tedeger terigüten qamuɣ arban jüg-ün yirtinčü-yin ulus-tur tegünčilen iregsen ayaɣ-q-a tegim=lig ünen tegüs toɣoluɣsan kedüi bükü ilaju tegüs nögčigsen bur-qad nirvan ülü bolun saɣuɣad : tedeger ilaju tegüs nögčigsen qamuɣ burqan-nuɣud namai-yi duraddun soyurq-a :: bi ene töröl kiged : terigülesi ügei töröl-eče inaɣsida : orčilang-dur orčiqui qamuɣ töröl-nügüd-tür nigül kkilinča-tu üilesi

4a

üiledügsen kiged : üiledkegülügsen : üiledügsed-te | daɣan bayasulčaɣsan ba : suburɣan-u ed ba : bursang quvarag-ud-un ed ba : arban jüg-ün bursang quva-rag-ud-un ed-i buli[ya]ɣsan kiged : buli[ya]ɣuluɣsad buli[ya]ɣ=sad-ta daɣan bayasulčaɣsan ba : tabun jabsar ügei üiles⟨e⟩i üileddügsen kiged : üiledkegül-ügsen üiledügsed-te daɣan bayasulčaɣsan ba : arban kkilinča-tu üiles-ün mör-i üneger abču oroɣsad kiged : oroɣuluɣsan oroɣsad-ta daɣan bayasulčaɣsan ba :

I bow down to the Thus come one, the majestic one who completely illumi-
nated.[38]

I bow down to the Thus come one, who completely suppressed with jewel-   3b
lotus.[39]

I bow down to the Thus come one, the Lama, the Manifest complete Buddha,
the powerful one who firmly sits on the lotus throne, the king of the powerful
one of the mountains.[40]

All the Thus come priests, Manifest complete Buddhas, all the Victoriously
passed beyond ones of all the abodes of the ten directions, you who do not
reside in the nirvana—all these Victoriously passed beyond ones, deign to give
me your attention!

I committed sinful actions and persuaded others to do so in this life and thus
uncountable lives went through transmigrations and I even felt pleasure doing
so. | I took away by force the values of the stupa, the treasure of the assembly   4a
and the goods of the clergy of the ten directions and made others to do so—and
even felt pleasure doing it.

I committed the five deadly sins[41] and persuaded others to do so, and even
found pleasure in it.

I firmly followed the path of the ten sinful actions, and found pleasure in
directing others to this way.

I committed the ten deadly sins and made others to do the same, and I even
found pleasure in doing so.

38   MS 2. *Büküi-ün gegen jokiyal-un čoγ*, MS 3. *Büküi-eče geyigen jokiyaγči čoγtu*, L. Chandra,
      236: *Qamuγ-a geyigülün jokiyaγči čoγtu*, Skr. *Sāmantavabhāsavyūsavyūhaśrī*, Tib. *Kun nas
      snang ba bkod pa'i dpal*, M. *Gubci be genggiyen i eldembure fucihi*

39   MS 2. *Erdeni lingqu-a-bar teyin daryči*, MS 3. *Erdeni badm-a-bar dayin-i daruγči*, L. Chan-
      dra, 238: *Erdeni lingqu-a-bar teyin böged daruγči*, Skr. *Ratnapadmavikrāmin*, Tib. *Rin chen
      pa dmas rnam par gnon pa* M *Śu ilhai fuhali gidara fucihi*

40   MS 2. *Dayin daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan erdeni lingqu-a-yin tabčang-dur sayitur saγuγsan
      aγulas-un qaγan burqan*, MS 3. *Dayini darun sayitur toγuluγsan burqan erdeni padm-a-dur
      sayitur saγuγsan aγulas-un erketü qaγan burqan*, L. Chandra, 240: *Aγulas-un erketü qaγan
      burqan*, Skr. *Śailendrarāja (Buddha)*, Tib. *Sangs rgyas ri dbang gi rgyal po*, M. *Boobai śu ilha
      de saikan tehe Sumir alin i han fucihi*

41   The five deadly sins (*tabun jabsar ügei*): murdered his mother (*eke-yi alaγsan*), murdered
      an arhat (*dayini daruγsan-i alaγsan*), murdered his father (*ečige-yi alaγsan*), caused dis-
      union among the priesthood (*quvaraγ-i qaγačaγuluγsan*). *Mvy* 2323–2327

aliba üile-yin tüidügčid-te tüidčü bi amitan-u tamu-dur unaqu ba : adaγusun-u
4b *töröl-dür törökü ba : birad-un γajar-a | törökü ba : kijayar γajar-a törökü ba : ters*
buruγu-dur törökü ba : urtu nasutu tngri-ner-tür törökü ba : erketen dutaγu bolqu
ba : buruγu üjel-tü bolqu ba : iregsen burqan-i bayasqan ülü üiledkü bolqu ba : ab
ali üile-yin tüidügči tede bügüde-yügen ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuγud belge
bilig boluγsan : nidün boluγsan : gere boluγ=san : üliger boluγsan medegči üjegči
tedeger-ün nidün-ü nite arilγan namangčilamui ::

ülü bučan ülü niγun jiči tasulsuγai : janggidsuγai :: tedeger ilaju tegüs nögčig-
5a *sen qamuγ burqan-nuγud namai-yi | duraddun soyurq-a ::*

bi ene töröl kiged : terigülesi ügei töröl-eče inaγ=sida : orčilang-dur orčiqui busu
töröl-nügüd-tür adaγusun-u töröl-dür törögsed-te öglige-yin ečüs nigen emkü-yin
tedüyiken idegen-i öggügsen ab ali buyan-u ündüsün kiged šayša=bad sakiγsan-
u minu buyan-u ündüsün : ariγun yabudal-iγar yabuγsan-u buyan-u ündüsün :
amitan-i sayitur bolbasun bolγaγsan-u buyan-u ündüsün : degedü bodi qutuγ-tur
sedkil egüskegsen-ü buyan-u ündüsün : deger-e ügei belge bilig-ün ab ali buyan-
5b *u ündüsün : | tede bügüde-yi quriyan nigedken : qamtud=qaju deger-e ügei :*
degedü ügei : degedü-yin ber degedü : blama-yin ber blama-dur sayitur jorin
irügekü-yin tulada deger-e ügei ünen tegüs toγoluγsan : bodi qutuγ-tur sayitur
jorin irügesügei ::

Being obstructed by the hindrances of these deeds I created the cause to fall into the hells of living beings,[42] to be born as animals[43] or on the land of hungry ghosts,[44] | or born in a frontier province,[45] or among wicked heretics,[46] or among long-living gods,[47] or I will be born without having all the sense-organs,[48] or with heretical mentality and not being pleased as a Thus come Buddha is not present.[49]

4b

Now, I confess all these obstructing actions before the Victoriously passed beyond Buddhas who have become transcendental wisdom, who have become eyes, witnesses and example, who know and see this. I confess purifying myself before their very eyes. I will not return to these sins and will not hide them but will separate from them and tie them.

All those Victoriously passed beyond Buddhas, please give me your attention!

In this life and throughout beginning-less lives turning in the cycles of reincarnations, in other births I gave a mouthful food to those born as animals so practicing the root of virtue. I kept the rules of religious life so practicing virtue, and lived with pure conduct so practicing virtue, and well perfected the living beings so practicing virtue. I generated supreme sanctity of Buddhahood so practicing virtue. I generated the highest wisdom so practicing virtue. | All these together and one by one, combined together I dedicate it to the Supreme of the Supreme Ones, to the Lama of the Lamas, I dedicate to the supreme perfectly complete enlightenment.

5a

5b

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42 Here follows the enumeration of bad fates, cf. *Mvy* 2298 *Naiman čilüge ügei-yin ner-e* "the eight inopportune births". These are the forms of living when one cannot find an opportune rebirth e.g. born as a human being 2299: *amitan tamu* "hell of living beings"

43 *Mvy* 2300 *aduɣusun* "animal"

44 *Mvy* 2301 *birid* "pretas"

45 *Mvy* 2303 *ǰaq-a kiǰaɣar-un kümün* "people of the borders"

46 *Mvy* 2305 *burɣu üǰel-tü* "one with heretical mentality"

47 *Mvy* 2302 *urtu nasutu tngri* "long-living gods"

48 *Mvy* 2304 *erketen büri busu* "not having all the sense-organs"

49 *Mvy* 2306 *tegünčilen iregsed-ün ese qaran učiraɣsan* "at a time wnen tathāgatas do not exist"

yambar nögčigsen čaɣ-un ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuɣud sayitur jorin irügegsen kiged : yambar irege üdügüi ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuɣud sayitur jorin irügeküi ba :

yambar edüged-ün bükü ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-nuɣud sayitur jorin
6a *irügeküi metü biber sayitur jorin | irügesügei ::*

qamuɣ nigül kilinčas⟨a⟩i öber-e öber-e arilɣan öčimüi :

qamuɣ buyan-nuɣud-tur dayan bayasulčamui [:]

qamuɣ burqan-nuɣud-ta jalbiral duradqan öčisügei :

deger-e ügei belge bilig-ün degedü-yin degedü-yi olqu minu boltuɣai ::

edüged-tür sayuɣsan ab ali degedü ilaɣuɣsan kiged : nögčigsen ba tegünčilen ab ali irege üdügün-ü dalai metü : kijaɣalal ügei maɣtaydaqui erdem-ten bügüde-de alaɣ-a-ban qamtudqaju ürgüljide itegesügei ::

6b *bey-e-yin ɣurban jüil üiles kiged kelen-ü dörben jüil | üiles ba : sedkil-ün ɣur-ban jüil üiles : arban kilinče-nuɣud-iyan öber-e öber-e arilɣan öčimüi :: terigülesi ügei čaɣ-ača edüged-tür kürtel-e : arban kilinče kiged tabun jabsar ügei üiles⟨e⟩i : nisavanis-tu sedkil-ün erke-ber üiledügsen qamuɣ kilinče-nuɣud-iyan öber-e öber-e arilɣan öčimüi :: taciyangɣui urin mungqay-un erke-ber ba : bey-e kele kiged*

7a *tegünčilen sedkil-iyer ber minu | ab ali üiledügsen kilinče-nuɣud tede bügüde-yügen arilɣan öčimüi bi :: tabun jabsar ügei nigül-nügüd-i kedbe ülü medekü-yin erke-ber üiledügsen enekü sayin yabudal-iyar yabuɣsan-iyar tedeger bügüde sayi-tur arilqu boltuɣai :: mörgüged takiyad sayitur öčiged bayasun nököčen duradqan jalbarin öčigsen-iyer minu kedüyiken ba : üčüken buyan-i quriyaɣsan bügüde-yügen toɣoluɣsan yeke bodi qutuɣ-tur jorin irügesügei bi ::*

ma-ga-lam

I possess resolution just like the Victoriously passed beyond Buddhas of the past possessed complete resolution, just like the future Victoriously passed beyond Buddhas of the future possessed resolution, just like the present day's Victoriously passed beyond Buddhas possessed complete resolution. | I ask   6a that all the sins should be purified by themselves. I rejoice in all the Buddhas. I ask praying to all the Buddhas. May I receive the supreme of the highest wisdom. I rejoice in all the merits. Putting my hands together I always rely on all the Supreme Victorious ones living in the present and the wise ones who are limitlessly glorious like the ocean.

I pray, that the three actions of the mind, the four actions of speech the | 6b three actions of mind—all together the ten immoral actions—should be purified by themselves.

I pray, that the ten sins and the five mortal sins and all the sins committed with vicious mind since beginning-less time up to the present—all the sins should be purified by themselves.

I pray, that all the sins committed with the power of lust, anger and ignorance of the body, speech and such mind, all the sins committed by me should be purified.

The five deadly sins committed by the power of ignorance, all should be   7a purified by the power of these virtuous actions.

I bow, I make offering, pray, rejoice … whatever the smallest virtue I have committed, I dedicate them to make me able to reach the complete enlightenment.

Mangalam.

Illustrations[50]
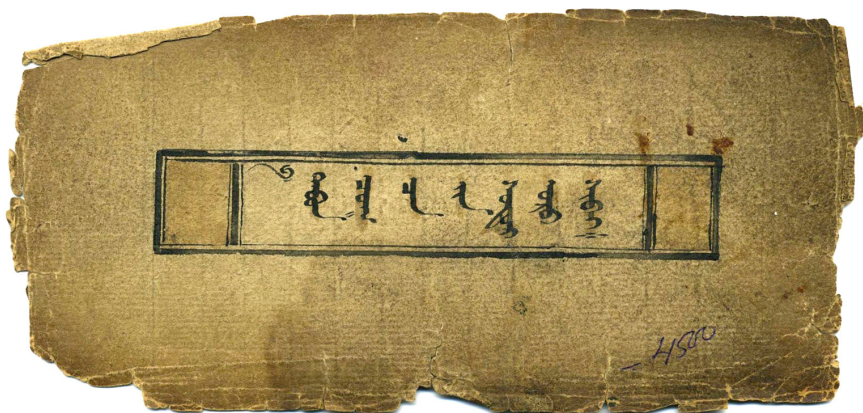
MS 1. Tabun čoɣ=ča-yin sudur

50　　All of the presented manuscripts belong to a private collection. The owner does not wish
　　　to be named.

[1b–2a]

[2b–3a]

[3b–4a]

[4b–5a]

[5b–6a]

[6b–7a]

[7b]
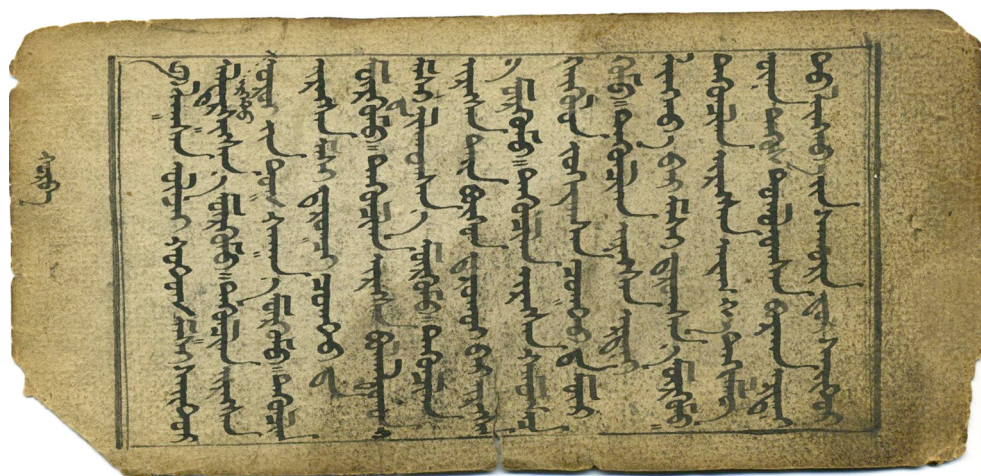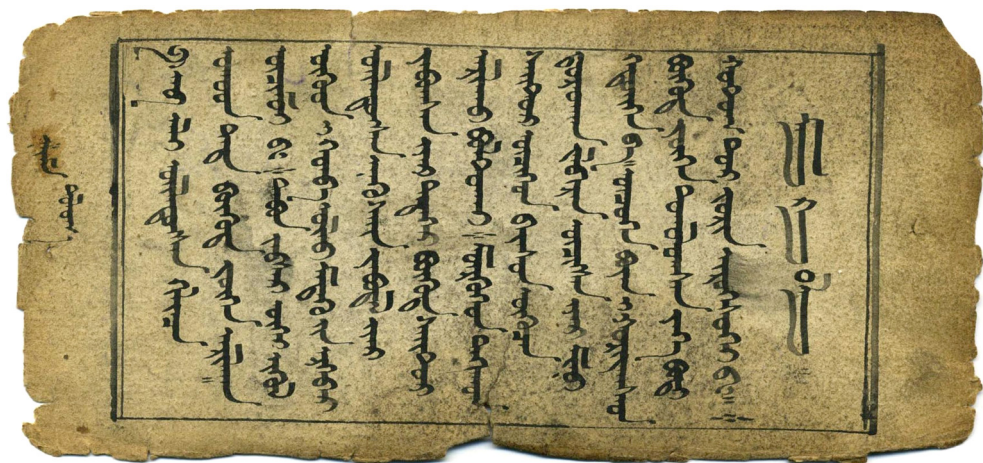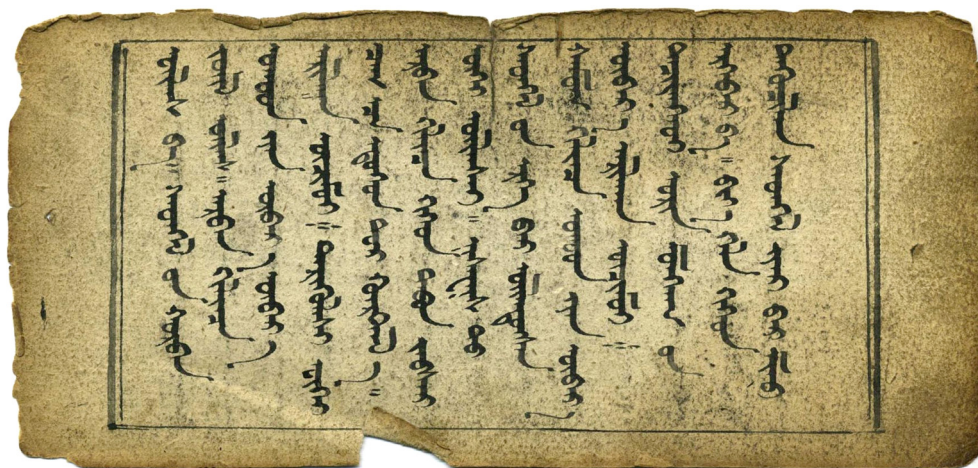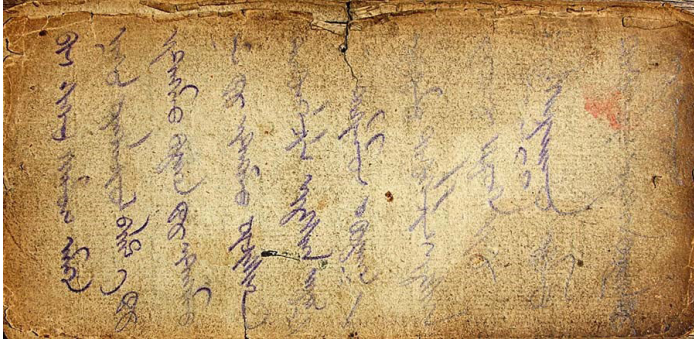
MS 2 Čoγtu zandan-u γučin tabun burqad-un emün-e gem unal namančilaqu
yosun oroši-ba [2b–3a]

MS 3 Γučin tabun mörgülte čoγtu zingdan-a kemekü sudur orosi-ba [*1b–2a*]

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The role of Ewenki *VgV* in Mongolic Reconstructions

*Bayarma Khabtagaeva**

The recent topic of my research is Mongolic influence on Ewenki dialects of Buryatia. In the present paper I would like to present the important role Ewenki loanwords can play in the reconstruction of Mongolic words.

In 1985, there appeared the volume *Mongolo-Tungusica* by Doerfer, who examined the Tungusic-Mongolic linguistic contacts with statistical methods (Doerfer 1985). In 2010 I examined some criteria of the Mongolic elements in Barguzin Ewenki (Khabtagaeva 2010); later I had the chance to perform fieldwork among them (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011) and strengthen my idea on the importance of Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki dialects.

The results of my research show that most of the Mongolic elements in Ewenki belong to the oldest layer. The time is indeterminable and these loanwords are considered to be 'Daguroid' in the literature. This term was introduced by Doerfer (1985: 161–169) for loanwords that display features that resemble or are identical to Modern Dagur.

An interesting fact, which I experienced during my fieldwork, is that besides the designation *buryād*, the Barguzin Ewenkis refer to the Buryats as *dagu*[1] (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 232). This phenomenon suggests a possible connection with ancestors of the Dagur people. Another possibility of explanation may be that the territory where the Barguzin Ewenkis now live once formed part of Dauria. In turn, the Buryats generally call Ewenkis of Buryatia as *xamnigan*, which is not identical to the Mongolian Khamnigans.[2]

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1 The disappearance of final consonant *-r* in the Barguzin Ewenki form can connected with the Tungusic plural suffix.

2 The Mongolian Khamnigan people live scattered across the Trans-Baikalian region in the Aga National District of Chita Province, where they number approximately 5,000 (Damdinov 1968: 1974); in the north-eastern part of Mongolia in the Khentei Province, where their number is unknown (Kőhalmi 1959: 163); and in the north-eastern part of China, in the Khulun Buir district, where they number approximately 2,000 (Janhunen 1990: 11–12). Since

The importantce of my research is in comparing Ewenki data with archaic Mongolic languages, such as Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol. Perhaps these languages can play a key role in determining the source of the Mongolic borrowings.

In this paper I would like to present some Ewenki loanwords that contain the intervocalic Mongolic *VGV*, which probably helps in the reconstructions of Proto-Mongolic. Only the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia (Barguzin, North-Baikal, Baunt and Nercha) are considered in this paper.[3] In the territory of Buryatia, the Ewenki people live in different regions, such as Barguzin, Kurumkan, North-Baikal and Baunt. All these territories are situated in the northern part of Buryatia.[4] Their total number in Buryatia is approximately 800 (Bulatova 2002: 268), but their exact distribution is unknown (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 229–234).

There are two Ewenki dialectal groups in Buryatia. The Baunt, the Nercha and the North-Baikal dialects belong to the southern sibilant group. While the Baunt and Nercha dialects contain the hissing type (*s-*, *VsV*), the North-Baikal dialect exhibits features of the hushing type (*š-*, *VšV*). The Barguzin dialect belongs to the eastern sibilant-spirant (*s-*, *VhV*) group (For details on classification and phonetic criteria, see Atkine 1997: 114–117).

In spite of the fact that these Ewenkis have lived among Buryats for centuries, the phonetic criteria retain the ancient 'Daguroid' peculiarities, not Buryat.[5]

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their language has preserved many archaic features, the Khamnigan Mongol language is considered to be one of the archaic Mongolic languages (Janhunen 2003: 83–101).

3 Linguistically the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia are very poorly described. There are no present grammars listing their features, or comparative dictionaries. Some material on the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia appears in the famous Ewenki-Russian Dictionary of Vasilevich, based on her fieldwork (Vasilevič 1958). Some dialectal data are included in the small Ewenki-Russian thematic dictionary of Afanas'eva (2004). The first texts and dictionary of the North-Baikal and Baunt dialects were published by Titov (1926).

4 I do not have any information about modern Nercha Ewenki people. According to Uvarova (2006: 12–14), the original places where Nercha Ewenki lived are now small villages in the Aga Buryat National District of Chita Province. But the author does not mention the current situation.

5 From a phonetic point of view, one of the most important criteria of the Mongolic elements in the Barguzin Ewenki dialect is the preservation of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-*, which disappeared in Classical Mongolian period and Modern non-archaic Mongolic languages, e.g. Barguzin Ewenki **helγē** 'kite' ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic *hele'e ~ heli'e*; Literary Mongolian *eliy-e*; Buryat *elьē*; Dagur n.a.; Barguzin Ewenki **hirugē-** 'to bless' ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic

First the development of the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV* in the Mongolic languages has to be presented.

Mongolic Intervocalic *VGV*

Secondary Long Vowels

According to different Mongolic grammars (Vladimircov 1929: 192–266, Sanžeev 1953: 77–83, Poppe 1955: 59–76, Rassadin 1982: 38–57) the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV* is contracted to a secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic, e.g.

(a)   the pattern *Vowel—Consonant G—Vowel* with the same vowel:

AGA → Ā

Literary Mongolian *ulaɣan* 'red' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Buryat, Kalmuck *ulān*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *ulān*; Dagur *xulān*; East Yugur *lān*; MonguorH *fulān*; MonguorM *xulaŋ*; Baoan *fəlaŋ*; Santa *xulaŋ*; Mogol *ulōn*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *ulaɣan*; MNT *hula'an*; HY *hula'an*; Yiyu *fula'an*; ZY *hulā*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *hulān*; Ibn-Muh. *hulān*; Muq. *hula'an ~ hulān ~ ulān*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *hulān*; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *degere* 'above, upper' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Kalmuck *dēr*, Buryat *dēre*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *dēre ~ dȫre*; KhamniganM *dēre*; Dagur *dər*; East Yugur *dērə*; MonguorH *dəre*; MonguorM *dere*; Baoan *dīrə*; Santa *ʒ́ierə*; Mogol *derʌ*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *deger-e*; MNT *de'ere*; HY *de'ere*; Yiyu *dēre*; ZY *dēre*; 'Phags-pa *de'ere*; Leiden *dēre*; Ibn-Muh. *dēre* 'roof'; Muq. *dēre*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *dēre*; Kirakos n.a.;

UGU → Ū

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hirüʼe-; Literary Mongolian *irüge-*; Buryat *yürȫ-*; Dagur *šurē-*; Barguzin Ewenki **hukur** 'cow' ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic *hüker*; Literary Mongolian *üker*; Buryat *üxer*; Dagur *hukure*; Barguzin Ewenki **hulō** 'touchwood' ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ula*; Buryat *ula ~ ūla*; Dagur—, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2010: 18).

Literary Mongolian *buruɣu* 'wrong, false, incorrect; mistake' → Modern Mongolic:

> **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Buryat, Kalmuck *burū*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *burū* ~ *borū*; Dagur *bɔrɔ̄*; East Yugur *burui*; MonguorH *murū*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *buru*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *buruɣu*; MNT *buru'u*; HY *buru'u*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *burū*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *küjügü*(*n*) 'neck' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *xüdzū̇*(*n*), Buryat *xüzū̇*(*n*), Kalmuck *küzū̇n*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *küdzū*(*n*); Dagur *xuǰū*; East Yugur *guǰün*; MonguorH *guǯə*; MonguorM *guǯi*; Baoan *guǯuŋ*; Santa *ġuʒəŋ*; Mogol *kuǰun* ~ *kužun*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *küjügün*; MNT *güjü'ü*(*n*); HY *küjü'ün*; Yiyu *küjü'ün*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *küjǖn*; Ibn-Muh. *küjǖn*; Muq. *küjü'ün*; Ist. *küjǖn*; Rasulid *küjün*; Kirakos n.a.;

igi → *ī*

Literary Mongolian *čigiraɣ* ~ *čigireg* 'strong, sturdy, tight' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *čīreg*, Buryat *šīrag*, Kalmuck *tšīrəg*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *čīrag*; Dagur n.a.; East Yugur *čiraġ*; MonguorH *ćiraġ*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *çïġara*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *čigiraɣ*; MNT n.a.; HY *čĭ'iraq*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

Mongolic ← Turkic **tigiraq*: cf. Old Turkic *tigraq* 'firm, tough' < *tigra-* 'to be tough, sturdy';

(b)　V^1GV^2 (with the different vowels) → $\bar{V}^2$:

The quality of the long vowel depends on the quality of the second vowel of the conjunction,[6] e.g.

6　In comparison with Modern Turkic languages, the Tuvan secondary long vowels also developed from the *Vowel—Consonant—Vowel* pattern, but depending on the first vowel. E.g. Old Turkic *aǧïr* 'hard' ~ Tuvan *ār*; Old Turkic *baǧïr* 'liver' ~ Tuvan *bār*; Old Turkic *oǧul* 'boy' ~

$AGU \rightarrow \bar{U}$

Literary Mongolian *aɣula* 'mountain' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *ūl(an)*, Buryat *ūla*, Kalmuck *ūl*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *ūla(n)*; Dagur *aul*; East Yugur *ūla*; MonguorH *ula*; MonguorM *ula*; Baoan *ūla*; Santa *ula*; Mogol *aʋlɔ*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *aɣula*; MNT *a'ula*; HY *a'ula*; Yiyu *awula*; ZY *aula*; 'Phags-pa *a'ula*; Leiden *aula*; Ibn-Muh. *a'ūla*; Muq. *a'ula ~ ūla*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *aula*; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *ǰegün* 'needle' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *dzǖ(n)*, Buryat *zǖ(n)*, Kalmuck *zǖn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *dzǖ(n)*; Dagur *ǰū*; East Yugur *ǰūn*; MonguorH *ǰ́iū*; MonguorM *ʒau*; Baoan *ǰ́өŋ*; Santa *ʒuŋ*; Mogol *ǰöʉn*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl. Mo. *ǰegün*; MNT *ǰe'ü*; HY *ǰö'ün*; Yiyu *ǰiwü*; ZY *ǰiü*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *ǰǖn*; Muq. *ǰe'ün*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

$iGU \rightarrow \bar{U}$

Literary Mongolian *serigün* 'cool'→ Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *serǖn*, Buryat *heryǖn*, Kalmuck *serǖn ~ sirǖn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *seryǖn*; Dagur *sərūn*; East Yugur *surʉin*; MonguorH *sarən*; MonguorM *śerən*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *śieruŋ*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *serigün*; MNT *seri'ü[t-]* 'to become cool'; HY *seri'ün*; Yiyu *seri'ün*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa *seri'un*; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

(c) O^1GV^2 (with the different vowels) → $\bar{O}^1$:

If the first vowel of the conjunction is labial, a long $\bar{o}$ or $\bar{ö}$ replaces the *VGV* conjunction according to vowel harmony, e.g.

$OGA \rightarrow \bar{O}$

Tuvan *öl*; Old Turkic *soɣïq* 'cold, frost' ~ Tuvan *sōk*; Old Turkic *yoɣun* 'thick' ~ Tuvan *čōn*; etc. (Khabtagaeva 2009: 42).

Literary Mongolian *bögere* 'kidneys' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Kalmuck *bȫr*, Buryat *bȫre*; **archaic**: Khamni-
> ganT *bȫre*; Dagur *bār*; East Yugur *püre*; MonguorH *bōro*; MonguorM *bori*;
> Baoan *bērə*; Santa *boro*; Mogol *böärà*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *böger-*
> *e*; MNT *bö'ere*; HY *bö'ere*; Yiyu *būr*; ZY *būr*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *bȫre*;
> Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *bȫrek*; Rasulid *böire*; Kirakos n.a.;

Mongolic ← Turkic **bögörĕ*: cf. Old Turkic *bögür* 'the kidneys';

There is a rule that the quality of the secondary long vowel in a non-initial syl-
lable always depends on the first vowel of the conjunction. However, Kalmuck
is an exception to this rule, it depends on the second vowel (Poppe 1955: 60–71):

Literary Mongolian *noɣoɣan* 'green' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *nogōn*, Buryat *nogō(n)*, Kalmuck *noɣān*; **archaic**:
> KhamniganT *nogō(n)*; Dagur *nuwā* 'vegetables'; East Yugur *nɔġōn*; Mon-
> guorH *noġōn*; MonguorM *noġoŋ*; Baoan *nøġuŋ*; Santa *noġoŋ*; Mogol n.a.;
> **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *noɣuɣan*; MNT *noqo'an*; HY *noqo'an*; Yiyu
> *noɣō* 'vegetable'; ZY *nu'o* 'blue, indigo'; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-
> Muh. n.a.; Muq. *noɣān*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *ǰiroɣa* 'amble; ambler' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *ǰorō*, Buryat *žorō*, Kalmuck *džorā*; **archaic**:
> KhamniganT *džirō*; Dagur *ǰirō*; East Yugur *ǰɔrɔ̄*; MonguorH * źoro*; Mon-
> guorM *n.a.*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *ǰirō*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo.
> *ǰoriy-a ~ ǰiroɣ-a*; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu *ǰoriya*; ZY *ǰurā*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Lei-
> den *ǰoriya*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *ǰorya*; Rasulid *ǰoriya*; Kirakos n.a.;

Mongolic ← Turkic **yoriǧa*: cf. Old Turkic *yoriǧa* 'a horse that ambles or goes at
a jog trot' < *yorï-* 'to walk, march'.

As seen, in the Modern archaic languages the secondary vowel is shortened.
The Middle Mongolic data presents the disappearance of -*G*-, whereby iden-
tical vowels were contracted into one long vowel (e.g. *aɣa* > *a'a* or *ā*), while
different vowels were not contracted into a long vowel yet (e.g. *aɣu* > *a'u*). The
Mongolic words of this category in Nugteren's list were already reconstructed
with long vowel or diphtongs (Nugteren 2011: 263–546).

(d)   the pattern *Vowel—Consonant β—Vowel*:

There are some cases where a secondary long vowel developed from the *VβV pattern. Their number is not high, e.g.

Proto-Mongolic **taβulai* < **taβil* +*Ai* {Mongolic NN: Ramstedt 1957: 182–183}; Literary Mongolian *tau̯lai* 'hare' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *tūlai*, Buryat *tūlai*, Kalmuck *tūla*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *tūlai*; Dagur *tau̯lʸ*; East Yugur *tūlī*; MonguorH *tōlī*; MonguorM *taulai*; Baoan *tɵli*; Santa *taulǝi*; Mogol *taulài*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *taulai*; MNT *taolai* ~ *ta'ulai*; HY *taulai*; Yiyu *taulai*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa *t'avlayi*; Leiden *taulai*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *ta'ulai*; Ist. *taulai* ~ *tūlai*; Rasulid *taulai*; Kirakos *t'abšya*[*n*] (← Turkic);

Mongolic ← Turkic **taβiš*: cf. Old Turkic *tavišɣan* 'hare';

Proto-Mongolic **keβüken* < **keβü*[7] 'boy' +*KAn* {Mongolic NN/Diminutive: Poppe GWM §124}; Literary Mongolian *keüken* 'child, girl, daughter' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *xüxen*, Buryat *xüxen*, Kalmuck *kükn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *kūken*; Dagur *kǝkʷ*; East Yugur *küken*; MonguorH *kugän* 'small child, boy'; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *kaʊ̯ka* ~ *kaʊ̯kʌ*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *kö'üken*; HY *keüken*; Yiyu *köwü* ~ *köwū̆*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa *k'e'un*(*u*) 'son'; Leiden *kūken*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *kūken*; Ist. *keüken*; Rasulid *keüket* {pl.}; Kirakos n.a.

(e)   Separately should be mentioned the words in some languages in which the intervocalic *VGV* contracted to a long vowel, while in others it did not yet. What is more it also characterised the Middle Mongolic sources. This change suggests a different period of development of secondary vowels in Mongolic languages (For more examples, see Rassadin 1982: 43):

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7   Cf. Literary Mongolian *kübegün* 'son, boy', Khalkha *xöwǖn* ~ *xüwǖn*, Buryat *xübǖn*, Kalmuck *köwün*.

Literary Mongolian *degel* 'clothes, garment, jacket, coat, gown'→ Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *dēl*, Buryat *degel*, Kalmuck *dewl̦*; **archaic**: Khamnigan T *degel* ~ *debel* ~ *dēl*; Dagur *dāblʲ*; East Yugur *dīl*; MonguorH *dēl*; MonguorM *der*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *źien*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *degel*; MNT *de'el* ~ *degel*; HY *de'el*; Yiyu *de'el*; ZY *dēl*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *dēl*; Muq. *dēl*; Ist. *débil*; Rasulid *dēl*; Kirakos—.

Literary Mongolian *egem* 'clavicle, collar-bone; complete arm' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *egem*, Buryat, Kalmuck *ēm*; **archaic**: Khamnigan T *egem* ~ *ögem*; Dagur *n.a.*; East Yugur *n.a.*; Monguor n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *n.a.*; Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *egem*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *egem*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *egem*; Kirakos n.a.

The Preservation of Mongolic *VGV*

Another group includes the Mongolic words in which the secondary long vowel is not developed. In Modern Mongolic the intervocalic *VGV* is preserved, while in Middle Mongolic it was devoiced (Poppe 1955: 146–154). There are also some cases in Modern Mongolic in which one vowel or both vowels (cf. especially Kalmuck and Khalkha forms) were dropped, e.g.

Literary Mongolian *egeči* 'elder sister' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *egč*, Buryat *egeše*, Kalmuck *egč*; **archaic**: Khamnigan T *egeči* ~ *ögöčö*; Dagur *əkč*; East Yugur *əɣečə*; MonguorH *gəćə*; MonguorM *gəćí[diau]* 'sisters'; Baoan *egći*; Santa *əğəçi*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *egeči*; MNT *egeči*; HY *egeči*; Yiyu *ekeči*; ZY *ekeči*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *egeči*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *egeči*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *egeči*; Kirakos *ak'ači*;

Literary Mongolian *bulaɣan* 'sable' → Modern Mongolic:

> cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *bulga(n)*, Buryat *bulga(n)*, Kalmuck *bulɣn*; **archaic**: Khamnigan T *bulga(n)*; Dagur *baləɣ*; East Yugur *balaġan*; Mon-

guorH *bulġa*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *buluqan*; HY *buluqan*; Yiyu *bulaqa*; ZY *buluqan*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *bulgan*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *bulaɣan*; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *daɣa-* 'to follow' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Buryat *daga-*, Kalmuck *daχᵃ-*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *daga-*; Dagur *daɣ-*; East Yugur *daġa-*; MonguorH *daġā-*; MonguorM *daġa-*; Baoan *daġā-*; Santa *daġa-*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *daɣa-*; MNT *daqa-*; HY *daqa-*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *čimögen* 'marrow; bone containing marrow' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *čömög*, Buryat *semge*(*n*), Kalmuck *tšimgn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT n.a.; Dagur *šiməɣ*; East Yugur *čeŋgwen*; MonguorH *ćimuge*; MonguorM *çumuġai*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *çuməğə*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY *čimegen*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *čimegen*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *čimge*; Kirakos n.a.

It is questionable why in the first group the intervocalic *VGV* developed into a secondary long vowel, while in the second group it was preserved. Rassadin (1982: 45) explains this phenomenon by the stress. According to his theory, the secondary long vowels developed in words where the second vowel of the *V¹GV²* sequence was stressed.

During my investigation of Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki, I found different words that follow the definite development of the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV*. Probably the loanwords play a key role as evidence of two different origins of the *VGV* sequence in Mongolic. There are variants of change: preservation, devoicing, or change to the bilabial *VwV*.

Mongolic Intervocalic *VgV* in Ewenki Loanwords

(a)   The first group consists of Mongolic loanwords in which the intervocalic *VGV* is preserved, when in all Modern Mongolic data it is shown to have

developed into a long vowel. Probably this phonetic feature characterised the early period of borrowing of Mongolic words, when the *VGV* was not contracted to a long vowel. The period may be earlier than the 13th century, when the Middle Mongolic sources show the development of long vowels already started. E.g.

(1)   Nercha Ewenki *adugun* 'herd of horses' ← Mongolic *aduɣun* 'herd of horses; horse':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *aduɣun ~ aduyun*; MNT *adu'un*; HY *adu'u*[*či*]; Yiyu *adū*[*či*]; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *adūn*; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *adūn*[*či*]; Rasulid *adūn*[*či*]; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *aduyu*(*n*) ~ *adaɣu*(*n*); Modern non-archaic: Buryat *adūn*; Lower Uda Buryat *adūhan ~ adū-hun*; Khalkha *adū*; Kalmuck *adūn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *adū*(*n*); Dagur *adɔ̄*; EYugur n.a.; Monguor n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(2)   Barguzin Ewenki *bogoli* 'rope, string, tie' ← Mongolic **boyoli* < *boyo-* 'to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop' *-li* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §162} ← Turkic **boġŏ-*: cf. Old Turkic *boġ-* 'to strangle, choke':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *boyo-*; MNT *bo'o-* 'to block, obstruct'; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *bō-*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *bō- ~ bo'o-*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *boyo-*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *bō-*; Khalkha *bō-*; Kalmuck *bō-*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *bō-*; KhamniganM *bō-*; Dagur *bɔ̄-*; EYugur *pū-*; Monguor *bō-*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(3)   Nercha Ewenki *čaga-* 'to milk' ← Mongolic *saɣa-* 'to milk' ← Turkic **saġă-*: cf. Old Turkic *saġ-* 'to milk':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *saɣa-*; MNT *sa'a-*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *sā-*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *saɣa-*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *sā-*; Khalkha *sā-*; Kalmuck *sā-*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *sā-*; Dagur *sā-*; EYugur *sā-*; MonguorH *sā-*; MonguorM *sa-*; Baoan *sā-*; Santa *sa-*; Moghol *sɔ-*;

(4)   Barguzin Ewenki *emegen* 'saddle' ← Mongolic *emegel* 'saddle':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *emegel*; MNT *eme'el*; HY n.a.; Yiyu *eme'el*; ZY *emēl*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *emēl*; Ibn-Muh. *emēl*; Muq. *emēl*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid

emēl; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *emegel*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha *emēl*; Kalmuck *emēl*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *emēl ~ emȫl ~ ömȫl*; KhamniganM *emāl*; Dagur *əmāl*; East Yugur *emel*; MonguorH *imel*; MonguorM *imer*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *emōl*;

(5)   Barguzin Ewenki *imagan* 'goat' ← Mongolic *imaɣan* 'goat' ← Turkic **ïma-ġa*: cf. Old Turkic *ïmġa* 'wild mountain goat':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *imaɣan*; MNT *ima'at* (plural); HY *ima'an*; Yiyu *ima'an*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *ima'an ~ imān*; Rasulid *imān*; Ist. n.a.; Kirakos *iman*; Literary Mongolian *imaɣan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha, Kalmuck *yamā(n)*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *yamā(n)*; KhamniganM *imā(n)*; Dagur *imā*; East Yugur *mān*; MonguorH *imā*; MonguorM *ima*; Baoan *yimaŋ*; Santa *imaŋ*; Mogol n.a.;

(6)   Barguzin Ewenki *temegen* 'camel' ← Mongolic *temegen* 'camel' < **teme +GAn* {Mongolic NN: Khabtagaeva 2009: 280} ← Turkic **täβä*: cf. Old Turkic *täβäy* 'camel'

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *temege ~ temegen*; MNT *teme'en*; HY *teme'en*; Yiyu *temegen*; ZY *te[m]mē*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *temēn*; Ibn-Muh. *temē*; Muq. *temēn*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *temēn*; Kirakos *t'aman*; Literary Mongolian *temegen*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *temē(n)*; Khalkha *temē(n)*; Kalmuck *temēn*; KhamniganT *temē*; KhamniganM *temē(n)*; Dagur *təmā*; East Yugur *temēn*; MonguorH *təmēn*; MonguorM *tiemie*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *tem'ɔ ~ tɛm'ɔn*.

(b)   The second group includes the Mongolic loanwords in which the intervocalic *VgV* changed to the bilabial *VwV*, when in Modern Mongolic into developed to a long vowel, e.g.

(7)   Barguzin Ewenki *kewer* 'meadow, tundra' ← Mongolic *keger* 'steppe':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *keger*; MNT *ke'er*; HY *ke'er*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *keher*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *keher*; Ibn-Muh. *keh[ē]r* 'desert'; Muq. *kēr*; Ist. *keher*; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *kegere*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xēre*; Khalkha *xēr*; Kalmuck *kēr*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *kēre ~ kȫre*; Dagur *xōr*; East Yugur *kīre*; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

(8)   Barguzin Ewenki *huruwūn*; cf. Nercha Ewenki *urugun* 'thumb' ← Mongolic *quruɣun* 'finger, toe; finger-like':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *quruɣu* ~ *quruɣun*; MNT *quru'u(n)*; HY *quru'-un*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *qurūn*; Ibn-Muh. *qurū[bči]*; Muq. *qurūn* ~ *χurūn*; Ist. *quru'un*; Rasulid *qurūn*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *quruɣu(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xurgan*; Khalkha *xurū*; Kalmuck *xurɣn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *xurū*; KhamniganM *kurū(n)*; Dagur *xɔrɔ̄*; EYugur *χurūn*; MonguorH *xurə*; MonguorM *quru*; Baoan *ġurə*; Santa *ġuru*; Moghol *quru(n)*;

(9)   Barguzin Ewenki *ǰala**w** 'young; youth, lad' ← Mongolic *ǰala**ɣu** 'young, youthful; youth, youthfulness' < **ǰal+a-* {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 288} *-GU* {Mongolic VN/Adj.: Poppe GWM §152} ← Turkic **yāl*: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* 'fresh':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰalaɣu*; MNT *ǰala'ui*; HY n.a.; Yiyu *ǰalawu*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ǰalawu*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰala'ū*; Muq. *ǰala'ū* ~ *ǰalū*; Ist. *ǰalau*; Rasulid *ǰalawu*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ǰalaɣu*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *zalū*; Khalkha *dzalū*; Kalmuck *zalū*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dzalū*; Dagur *ǰalɔ̄*; EYugur *ǰalū*; MonguorH *ǰæliu*; MonguorM *ʒalau*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *ʒalau*; Moghol *ǰʌlav*;

(10)   North-Baikal Ewenki *ǰewin* 'left'; cf. Barguzin, Nercha Ewenki *ǰun* 'east' ← Mongolic *ǰe**gün*** 'east, eastern, oriental; left':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰegün*; MNT *ǰeö'ün*; HY *ǰe'ün*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *n.a.*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ǰewün*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰūn*; Muq. *ǰö'ēn*; Ist. *ǰüyün*; Rasulid *ǰeün* ~ *ǰewün*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ǰegün*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *zǖn*; Khalkha *dzǖn*; Kalmuck *zǖn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dzǖn*; Dagur *ǰun*; EYugur *ǰʉŋ*; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

There are two Ewenki loanwords in which the change *VgV* > *VwV* occurred, but the expected secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic is not present:

(11)   Barguzin, North-Baikal Ewenki ***uwey***, cf. Nercha Ewenki ***ugei*** 'no, absent' ← Mongolic ***ügei*** 'there is not; without; not':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ügei*; MNT *ügei*; HY *ügei*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ügei*; Ibn-Muh. *ügei*; Muq. *ügei*; Ist. *ügei*; Rasulid *ügei*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *ügï*; Khalkha *ügüi*; Kalmuck *ugā* ~ *uɣā* ~ *ügē*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *ügei* ~ *ügï*; Dagur

uwəi; East Yugur *uɣui ~ uɣwei ~ uɣo*; MonguorH *guī*; MonguorM *ugo*; Baoan *gi* (before verbs); Santa *ui*; Mogol *ugɛɪ*;

(12) Barguzin Ewenki *gowohun* 'wild garlic' ← Mongolic *ɣoɣosun* 'kind of wild leek, Allium odorum' < *ɣoɣo*[8] *+sUn* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM §137}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ɣoɣosun*; MNT *qoqosun*; HY *qoqosun*; Yiyu *ɣoɣosu*; ZY *qoqosun*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ɣoɣosu(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *gōgoho(n)*; Khalkha n.a.; Kalmuck *ġoɣᵖsn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *gōgol*; Dagur *gʷaɣəs* 'wild chives'; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH *ġʊġʊr*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

The change of the Mongolic *VGV > VwV* may be explained as an internal Ewenki change, but it is still unclear. The Proto-Tungusic **VgV* in Barguzin Ewenki as in Literary Ewenki is preserved, while in the North-Baikal dialect it changed to *VwV* (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 243). Information on its development in Baunt and Nercha dialects is absent (Vasilevič 1948). Cf.

> Literary Ewenki *togo* 'fire'; Barguzin Ewenki *toɣo* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *towo ~ tō* (cf. Nanai *tao*; Ulcha *tawa*; Manchu *tuwa*);
> Literary Ewenki *tuge* 'winter'; Barguzin Ewenki *tuɣe* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *tuwe ~ tue* (cf. Nanai; Ulcha *tue*; Manchu *tuweri*);
> Literary Ewenki *ǰuga* 'summer'; Barguzin Ewenki *ǰuɣa* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *ǰuwa ~ ǰua* (cf. Nanai *ǰua*; Ulcha *ǰua ~ ǰuwa*; Manchu *ǰuwari*).

Another possible explanation is that the borrowing took place when the change of *VGV > VwV* was in progress in Mongolic languages. Cf. the data of the Leiden manuscript—the Middle Mongolic source of 1343 written in Arabic script, in which this change is evidenced (see Poppe 1927: 1020; Rassadin 1982: 49):

> Leiden *awuski* 'lungs' ~ Literary Mongolian *aɣuški*;
> Leiden *ebčewün* 'sternum, chest; brisket' ~ Literary Mongolian *ebčigün*;
> Leiden *ewüden* 'door' ~ Literary Mongolian *egüden*;
> Leiden *itawun* 'partridge' ~ Literary Mongolian *itaɣun*;
> Leiden *šibawun* 'bird' ~ Literary Mongolian *sibaɣun*, etc.

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8 Cf. Khalkha *gogod* (< *ɣoɣo +d*) 'variety of wild leek', *gogol* (< *ɣoɣo +l*) 'a variety of the Liliaceae Hall.'.

(c)   In the third group of Ewenki loanwords, instead of the guttural *VGV* in
        the intervocalic position, we find a devoiced *VKV*, which does not evolve
        into a long vowel in Modern Mongolic. In Middle-Mongolic sources it is
        also unvoiced as in Ewenki loanwords. This phonetic criterion may be
        the evidence of the presence of the original Mongolic **VKV*, which was
        voiced and did not develop into the secondary long vowel, e.g.

(13)   Barguzin Ewenki *idokon*, Nercha Ewenki *idāken* 'shamaness' ← Mongolic
        iduγan < **iduqan*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY *iduqan*; Yiyu *idu'an*; ZY n.a.;
'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *iduγān*;
Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *iduγan ~ uduγan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat
udagan; Khalkha *udgan*; Kalmuck *udγan*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *uda-
gan*; Dagur *yadagan*; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan
n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

(14)   Barguzin Ewenki *kalbaka* 'spoon' ← Mongolic *qalbaγa* 'spoon' < **qalba-
        GAn* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §149} < **qalbaqa* ← Turkic **qalbV̆-* 'to
        stratch': cf. Old Turkic *qašuq* 'spoon' < *qaši̱-(X)K* {Turkic VN: Erdal 1991:
        224}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *qalbuγ-a*; MNT *qalbuqa*; HY *qalbuqa*; Yiyu n.a.;
ZY *qalbuqa*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *qalbuγa ~ γal-
buγa*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *qalbuγa*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *qalbaγ-a(n) ~
qalbuγ-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xalbaga*; Sayan Buryat *xalbaga* 'boat
paddle'; Lower Uda Buryat *kalbaga*; Khalkha *xalbaga*; Kalmuck *xalwᵃγa*; Mod-
ern archaic: KhamniganT *xalbaga*; Dagur *xalbeγ*; EYugur *xalġwa*; MonguorH
xaulġa; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(15)   Nercha Ewenki *mekeǰin* 'sow, female wild boar' ← Mongolic *megeǰi* <
        *mekeǰin 'sow':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY *mekeǰi*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *mekeǰin*;
'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kira-
kos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *megeǰi*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *megeže*; Khal-
kha *megǰ*; Kalmuck *megᵊdži*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *megedžin ~ meked-
žin ~ mïngedžin*; Dagur *məγəǰ*; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.;
Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

(16) Barguzin Ewenki *unukan* 'foal on his first year' ← Mongolic *unaɣan* < **unuqan*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *unaɣan*; MNT *unuqan*; HY *unuqan*; Yiyu *una[ɣ]a*; ZY *unuqon*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *unaɣan*; Ibn-Muh. *unaɣa*; Muq. *unaɣan*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *unuqan*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *unaɣan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha *unaga(n)*; Kalmuck; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *unaga(n)*; Dagur n.a.; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa *unaɣaŋ*; Mogol n.a.;

It is important to note that in the Middle Mongolic sources in front-vowel words the guttural consonants were marked by *-g-* and *-k-*, while in back-vowel words the guttural consonant was only *-q-*. In this way, the next two Ewenki loanwords with the unvoiced *VkV* assume the original consonant, in spite of presence of Middle Mongolic forms, which were marked with the voiced *VgV*:

(17) Barguzin Ewenki *kelteke* 'one-eyed, curve, crooked; freak, cripple' ← Mongolic *keltegei* 'slanting, askew, inclined; divergent, incorrect; unfair, biased, partial' < **kelte+GAi* < **keltekei*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *keltegei*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *keltegei*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *keltegei*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *keltegei*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xeltegï*; Khalkha *xeltgī*; Kalmuck *keltˀgē*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *keltegi*; Dagur *kəltɣī*; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

(18) Barguzin Ewenki *kureken ~ kurakān*; Nercha, North-Baikal Ewenki *kureken* 'husband of the younger sister' ← Mongolic *küregen* < **küreken* 'husband of one's daughter or sister; son-in-law; bridegroom':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *küregen*; MNT *güregen ~ gürigen*; HY *güregen*; Yiyu *kürgen*; ZY *kürgen*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *kürgen*; Muq. *küregen*; Ist. *kürgen*; Rasulid *kürgen*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *kürgen*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xürʲge(n)*; Khalkha *xürgen*; Kalmuck *kürgn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *kürigen ~ körigön*; Dagur *xurɣun*; EYugur *kʉrgen*; MonguorH *kurgēn*; MonguorM *kurgæn*; Baoan *kurġaŋ*; Santa *quġoŋ*; Moghol n.a.;

There are two Ewenki loanwords that contain the probably original **VqV*. Because of a lack Middle Mongolic data, our supposed reconstruction can be confirmed only by Ewenki loanwords:

(19) Nercha Ewenki *čindakān* 'polar hare' ← Mongolic *čindaɣan* < **čindakan*
'white hare or rabbit, polar hare':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *n.a.*; 'Phags-
pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos
n.a.; Literary Mongolian *čindaɣ-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *šandaga(n)*;
Khalkha *čandaga*; Kalmuck *tšindᵃɣan*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *činda-
ga(n)*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.;
Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(20) Barguzin Ewenki *dorokon* 'hedgehog' ← Mongolic *doroɣon* < **doroqon*
'badger':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-
pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;
Literary Mongolian *doroɣon*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat; Khalkha *dorgon*;
Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dorogo(n)* ~ *dorgo(n)*; Dagur n.a.;
East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol
n.a.;

However, Ewenki words cannot in all cases confirm the possibility of the origi-
nal *VKV*, which was later voiced in Mongolic and not contracted to a secondary
long vowel in Modern Mongolic. It is an interesting fact that generally all these
examples belong to the Nercha Ewenki dialect. Possibly these loanwords were
borrowed in the "transitional" period.

(21) Nercha Ewenki *keltege* 'crucian' ← Mongolic *keltege* < **kelteke* 'crucian,
crucian-carp (*fish*)':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *n.a.*; 'Phags-
pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos
n.a.; Literary Mongolian *keltege*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xeltegene* 'bream';
Khalkha *xelteg*; Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *keltege*; Dagur
kəltəɣ; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.;
Moghol n.a.;

(22) Nercha Ewenki *kuluguna* 'mouse' ← Mongolic *quluɣana* 'mouse, rat' <
qula 'dark brown, dark gray' +*GAnA* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM §119}
< **quluqana*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *quluɣan-a ~ qulaɣan-a*; MNT *quluqana*; HY *quluqana*; Yiyu *qulɣuna*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa *quluqana*; Leiden *qulquna*; Ibn-Muh. *qulɣuna*; Muq. *qulɣuna*; Ist. *qulɣuna*; Rasulid *quluqana*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *quluɣan-a*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xulgana ~ xulganān*; Khalkha *xulgana*; Kalmuck *xulɣn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *xuluganā*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur *χunlaǵ ~ χunaglaǵ ~ χunaǵla*; MonguorH *xvnaǵla ~ xanaǵla*; MonguorM *qvarǵvarna*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(23) Nercha Ewenki *tamagā* 'road sign, direction sign' ← Mongolic *tamaɣa* < **tamaqa* 'seal, stamp; brand; branding iron':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *tamɣ-a*; MNT n.a.; HY *tamqa*; Yiyu *tama[ɣ]a*; ZY *tamqa*; 'Phags-pa *t'amqa ~ tamga*; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *tamɣa*; Muq. *tamɣa*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *tamaɣ-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *tamga*; Khalkha *tamga*; Kalmuck *tamɣa*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *tamaga*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH *tamaǵa*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan *tamka*; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(24) Nercha Ewenki *tuguček* 'stump' ← Mongolic *tögüčeg* < **töküčeg* 'a charred stump of a tree':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *tögüčeg*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *tügseg*; Khalkha *tögcög*; Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT n.a.; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol—.

The next example may also assume the possibility of the original **VkV*, which was later voiced in Mongolic and not contracted to a secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic. An interesting fact that the Middle Mongolic initial *h-* is not preserved and shows the "later" period of borrowing:

(25) Nercha Ewenki *elegen* 'liver' ← Mongolic *elegen* < *heligen* < **heliken* 'liver; breast, belly; blood relative':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *eligen*; MNT *helige(n) ~ elige*; HY *heligen*; Yiyu *helige*; ZY *heligen*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *helegen*; Ibn-Muh. *heligen*; Muq. *eligen*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *helige*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *elige*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *el'ge(n)*; Khalkha *eleg*; Kalmuck *elgn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *ilige(n) ~ elige(n) ~ iligü(n)*; Dagur *xələɣ*; EYugur *heleɣen*; MonguorH *xalgз*; MonguorM *xarge*; Baoan *helge*; Santa n.a.; Moghol *ilkʌn* 'heart'.

Conclusion

The answer to the question why instead of the intervocalic *VGV* in some Mongolic words there is a long vowel, while it was preserved other words, can probably be found in Ewenki loanwords. This paper discusses twenty-five Ewenki data in which the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV* was preserved, devoiced or changed to the bilabial *VwV*. The different changes assume a different origin of the Mongolic consonant. Besides the Middle-Mongolic data, the Ewenki loanwords strengthen the possibility of the presence of two different original guttural consonants, **VGV* and **VKV*. The first one later developed into a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, while the second was voiced and was preserved in Modern Mongolic.

As expected the Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur data do not help in this solution.

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Contraction, anticipation et persévération en mongol xalx : quelques réflexions

Jacques Legrand

À partir de quelques observations portant sur des faits connus de la langue mongole, en particulier dans leur réalisation xalx, nous souhaitons ici revenir sur des faits linguistiques susceptibles de contribuer à ce que l'étude de la langue mongole fournisse un éclairage intéressant à des questions, dont certaines centrales, de la linguistique générale et qui ne nous semblent pas avoir retenu une attention suffisante.

Ces remarques se concentrent sur certains aspects de la composition de suffixes grammaticaux mongols complexes et sur les mécanismes qui y interviennent mais leurs implications sont loin de s'y limiter. Ces phénomènes, qui soulignent un contraste entre la réalité effectivement observable et l'image largement répandue d'une formation des unités significatives par « agglutination », concaténation linéaire des unités élémentaires s'assemblant en une unité plus complexe, tiennent à la fois à des faits de coarticulation (variabilité des réalisations des phonèmes en fonction du contexte phonétique et prosodique) et à des mécanismes de contraction faisant intervenir dans la production de la parole les effets complémentaires, fondamentaux et permanents de l'anticipation et de la persévération.

1 Remarques préliminaires

Dans la mesure où les faits examinés ici sont pour certains d'entre eux régulièrement notés par l'écrit cependant que d'autres présentent une réalité exclusivement orale mais n'excluent pas les effets d'éventuels feed-backs de l'écrit, une précaution préliminaire concerne la place réservée à l'écrit dans l'analyse des faits tant synchroniques que diachroniques. Les formes écrites sont le plus souvent réputées représenter des états antérieurs de la langue et leurs variations graphiques ou orthographiques illustreraient par définition des changements linguistiques. Sans rejeter totalement certains aspects de cette vision, les choses sont toutefois plus complexes.

A la différence des changements phonétiques et phonologiques eux-mêmes, largement spontanés (même si des impulsions importantes peuvent être pro-

voquées par des changements de composition de la communauté parlante, d'initiatives politiques ou autres), les changements intervenant à l'écrit sont, plus souvent que des évolutions proprement linguistiques, l'effet de variations directement et délibérément imposées, jusqu'à des actes de politique linguistique, traduisant des états eux-mêmes variables de la conscience linguistique. Les formes et variations orthographiques, sans être la représentation directe d'états variables de la langue, moins encore des modèle s'imposant à la langue et à ses réalisations, témoigne d'une dynamique de la conscience linguistique qu'il convient de prendre en considération

Cette conscience linguistique, dimension centrale de la conscience sociale et de la culture mongole dans la longue durée, est particulièrement opératoire dans le cas de la langue mongole et de ses rapports à l'écrit. Il n'est pas fortuit, de ce point de vue, que la longue tradition d'approches et de traitements très divers de l'écrit et de ses rapports avec la langue mongole apporte les nombreux témoignages d'une conscience linguistique aiguë et durable, mais nullement invariable : rapport entre création de l'empire de Cinggis qan et adoption d'une écriture ;[1] invention et mise en œuvre de multiples écritures (ainsi des écritures Soyombo et Ecriture carrée horizontale créées à quelques années d'intervalle au XVIIème s. par le même Zanabazar) et multiplicité des réformes et refontes de celles-ci, entrée en usage simultanée de plusieurs écritures reposant elles-mêmes sur des logiques graphiques et orthographiques distinctes, comme le montre la cohabitation—d'ailleurs souvent conflictuelle—entre les écritures uigur-mongole et 'Phags-pa, mais aussi bien sûr les épisodes de latinisation et de cyrillisation du XXème s., sans que ces cas soient isolés. On peut y ajouter de nombreux témoignages de l'attention portée par la culture mongole aux faits de langue, qu'il s'agisse de l'association, unique dans sa durée, entre une culture littéraire où l'écrit et l'oral s'alimentent mutuellement sans se nuire.[2] Qu'il s'agisse du *jirüken-ü tolitu* 'Miroir du cœur' (parfois altéré en *jirüken-ü tolta* 'Aorte du cœur'), très précoce traité linguistique mongol du grand traducteur et poète Čhos-kyi 'od-zer (Čojiži Odzer), composé vers 1305 et qui ne nous est malheureusement connu que par des commentaires

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1 L'épisode mentionnant le rôle du lettré uigur Tatatonga à la p. 36v de l'Altan tobči de Mergen gegegen (Балданжапов 1970 : 101, 151, 333), même s'il peut être considéré comme douteux et si, comme le souligne G. Kara (Kara 2005 : 28), le passage considéré ne constitue pas une preuve, a du moins le mérite de constituer, dans une source du XVIIIème s., un rappel de l'importance accordée dans la longue durée par la tradition mongole à l'élaboration d'une écriture répondant à un besoin majeur de l'empire cinggisqanide en formation.

2 Kara György 2005 ; Legrand Jacques 1993

du XVIIIème s.,[3] ou de nombreuses occurrences, tant savantes que populaires. On notera encore la place des multiples faits de maîtrise de l'émission orale et de virtuosité articulatoire dans les divers genres et styles du chant mongol défiant une transposition écrite, qu'il s'agisse du *xöömij* ou du *urtyn duu*, par ailleurs inséparables des innombrables *türgen xelleg* 'dits rapides', *xel zügšrüü-lex üg* 'mots pour dresser la langue', ensemble de procédés et de techniques d'apprentissage et de perfectionnement de la virtuosité en matière d'élocution rapide etc.

Pour la période récente (depuis les années 30 du XXème siècle environ), une attention majeure doit être portée aux effets croisés dans des contextes sociaux, idéologiques et politiques multiples, de la persistance d'une conscience linguistique autochtone profondément ancrée dans la pratique de très nombreux locuteurs malgré sa confrontation avec une représentation et une normalisation largement dictées par des visions et une conceptualisation étrangères de la langue mongole. Nous pensons d'ailleurs moins ici à l'introduction de l'écriture cyrillique en tant que telle (les écritures antérieures étaient elles-même empruntées à des graphies étrangères, qu'il s'agisse des écritures kitan, uigur-mongole, 'Phags-pa ou Soyombo, ce qui n'empêcha pas le développement d'une très riche tradition linguistique) qu'à l'introduction – et à la généralisation dès la formation scolaire, à l'échelle de générations entières – d'images et de schémas de la langue, de son système et de son économie largement transférées depuis des visions étrangères.

Pour nous en tenir à la situation contemporaine, un paysage complexe se dessine en effet, dans lequel interfèrent entre eux les différents types de rapport de l'écrit à l'oral, les priorités différentes propres par exemple à la dimension morphémique prédominante de l'écriture uigur-mongole,[4] là où l'écriture cyrillique cherche à s'appuyer sur un rapprochement considéré comme nécessaire entre notation écrite et réalisation orale. Ceci n'empêche d'ailleurs nullement la « nouvelle écriture » d'emprunter de très nombreux procédés et représentations à sa devancière, sources de multiples confusions tant pratiques que théoriques.

Sans développer davantage l'examen des multiples problèmes qui mériteraient ici notre attention, soulignons que de très nombreuses descriptions de

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3   Цэрэнсодном Д. 2002 : 202–209 ; Дамдинсүрэн Ц. 1999 : 132–134, 149–152

4   Celle-ci apparaît par exemple dans la notation systématique du trait de palatalisation consonantique par l'écriture uigur-mongole, y compris dans les contextes où il est inaudible. C'est le cas des consonnes palatalisées en contexte vocalique antérieur, où la palatalisation ne donne pas lieu à une réalisation perceptible, à l'exception des consonnes palatales palatalisées [z] > [ž] ; [c] > [č] ; [s] > [š], dont la palatalisation reste perceptible en tous contextes.

faits linguistiques mongols sont souvent faussées par une « lecture » devant
trop à une perception lourdement influencée par les apparences d'un système
graphique et orthographique incorrectement ou incomplètement interprété.
A titre d'exemple, nous ne citerons que la confusion massive qui frappe la per-
ception et la présentation du trait de « longueur » des voyelles. Ce trait, bien
présent dans la phonologie des voyelles mongoles est en effet presque systé-
matiquement assimilé à sa représentation graphique cyrillique (une lettre =
voyelle « brève », deux lettres = voyelle « longue ») sans qu'il soit tenu compte
du fait que les données graphiques reposent sur une double convention rendue
possible par l'exclusion réciproque des deux contextes dans lesquels se mani-
feste leur opposition : voyelle initiale ou voyelle non initiale. Si l'opposition
orthographique entre une « lettre-voyelle » et deux « lettres-voyelles » (а/аа,
э/ээ, о/оо, ө/өө, у/уу, ү/үү, и/ий) transmet bien en contexte initial la perti-
nence phonologique de l'opposition de longueur en mongol, il n'en va pas
de même dans le cas du contexte non-initial. La présence d'une voyelle pho-
nologique, sans référence à sa longueur, celle-ci étant non distinctive, y est
notée par l'enchaînement de deux « lettres-voyelles » (аа, ээ, оо, өө, уу, үү,
de rares exceptions concernant des mots d'emprunts, ou translittérant des
conventions propres à l'écriture uigur-mongole).[5] Il n'en va pas de même pour
l'usage d'une lettre-voyelle unique. Le fait noté par cette lettre (а, э, о, ө, и)
n'est tout simplement pas une voyelle phonologique mais soit la représenta-
tion d'une sonorisation (phonétique : [ə], dans ce cas sans portée distinctive)
d'une chaîne continue de consonnes, soit, ce qui est plus fondamental pour le
système phonologique mongol, la présence d'un trait de palatalisation (и, ь) ou
de vocalisation (а, э, о, ө) affectant la consonne qui précède dans la chaîne gra-
phique et susceptible, pour sa part, d'entrer en opposition distinctive, et donc
phonologique, avec toute autre consonne, y compris dans des degrés de per-
tinence variables avec les consonnes produites au même point d'articulation,
des oppositions pouvant ainsi se manifester entre des variantes multiples du
phonème /n/, telles que la variante « nue » (ni palatalisée ni vocalisée) [nø]
(voire [ŋ]), la variante palatalisée [ñ] (à la palatalisation d'intensité au demeu-
rant variable : de [n'] à [nⁱ]) et enfin la ou les variantes vocalisées, les plus
difficiles à repérer sans recourir à des opérations de commutation parfois fasti-

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5   À titre d'exemples du premier type, l'adoption de cette convention dans de nombreux
    emprunts monosyllabiques récents : баар 'bar', моод 'mode', ноот 'note', etc. ; pour l'autre cas,
    l'usage d'une seule lettre, souvent prise pour une voyelle, concerne des faits orthographiques
    propres à l'écriture uigure-mongole, dans ce cas translittérée en cyrillique sans que leur statut
    phonologique soit d'ailleurs clairement élucidé : ex. -tugai / -tügei > -тугай / -түгэй ; -sugai /
    -sügei > -сугай / -сүгэй ; -gtun > -гтун / -гтүн

dieuses et dans lesquelles la présence de la sonorisation [ə], passant d'un statut phonétique à une réalité phonologique, dote la consonne qu'elle affecte d'une pertinence potentiellement forte. Ainsi, dans les marques de détermination ou d'actualisation du système verbal et dans un même contexte, ici immédiatement derrière un radical verbal ou derrière une combinaison porteuse d'une combinatoire verbale, un [nø] «"n" nu» est-il la marque d'un déterminant verbal («gérondif»), cependant qu'un [nə] est une actualisation prédicative («indicatif»). On voit ici se manifester un phénomène dont la langue mongole impose l'incorporation à la notion même de pertinence—la variabilité de cette pertinence elle-même.

2   Faits observés

Une première observation concerne la parenté remarquable qui réunit, à condition de prendre en considération leurs réalisations orales, deux constructions qu'il n'est pourtant pas courant de rassembler:

A) Notre attention a été attirée de longue date par les rapprochements et les comparaisons qu'imposent l'unité complexe, de réalisation strictement orale [-žⁱnə / -čⁱnə],[6] extrêmement fréquente en xalx contemporain bien que ne bénéficiant ni de reconnaissance formelle ni de notation écrite propre. Les nombreux locuteurs mongols et nos informateurs réguliers, en particulier les lecteurs de langue mongole à l'INALCO, auxquels nous avons soumis ce fait depuis de très longues années ont une réaction immédiate et unanime, au point que l'intérêt que présentait son observation pouvait sembler marginal: cette combinaison est d'une part bien connue des locuteurs et elle est considérée d'autre part à juste titre comme n'étant rien d'autre que l'enchaînement d'un lexème verbal + gérondif en [-ž / -č] avec un indicatif éventuel du verbe auxiliaire [baⁱ-] 'être' > [baⁱnə], aboutissant à une construction prédicative d'une très grande fréquente: [-ž baⁱnə], dont elle n'est qu'une variante contractée. En un mot, sans la moindre opinion discordante, il est considéré qu'un locuteur prononçant à l'oral [ɛx čin' irž baⁱnə] 'ta mère arrive' ('va arriver'), forme la plus développée correspondant le mieux à la norme, en l'occurrence

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6   On veillera à ne pas confondre la combinaison présentée ici, adjointe à un radical verbal préalablement reconnu comme tel (comme dans l'exemple irᵉ- *ire-* ирэ- 'venir' > [iržⁱnə]) et l'actualisation prédicative éventuelle [-nə] affectant un verbe produit par le suffixe de dérivation verbalisante [–žⁱ–] sur radical nominal: [xon'] *qoni* хонь 'ovin' > [xon' žⁱ–] *qonizi-* хоньжи- 'accroître son cheptel ovin' > [xon'žⁱnə]

à une restitution orale de l'écrit mais sans doute loin d'être dominante dans la pratique orale courante, peut s'en tenir à cette formulation mais peut aussi réaliser un enchaînement [ɛx čin' iržwəⁱnə] ou enfin [ɛx čin' iržⁱnə] (les trois énoncés étant de même sens).

Le caractère consciemment interchangeable de ces réalisations, toutes licites mais tout au plus susceptibles de connoter un type d'intervention orale – depuis une expression délibérément contrôlée et normée, cette dernière visant à une proximité directe avec l'écrit, jusqu'à une expression libre, voire « relâchée », apparaît ainsi à travers un continuum formel : il n'est pas surprenant, dans une perspective sociolinguistique, que ce soit le discours normé (cadre scolaire, discours officiel, etc.) qui se tienne au plus près d'une reproduction de l'écrit. Mais il y a plus : le continuum formel que nous évoquons ici permet de mettre en évidence une trajectoire reliant une structure syntaxique clairement identifiable dans sa forme normative la plus développée, [-ž baⁱnə] à des phases dans lesquelles intervient un degré croissant de contraction s'accompagnant de transformations régulièrement repérables grâce à des marqueurs associant oral et écrit.

Dans cette forme développée, nous pouvons observer un schéma syntaxique ou morphosyntaxique classique, le déterminant verbal initial, par définition antéposé à son déterminé, conservant son identité propre et impactant un verbe auxiliaire, lui-même parfaitement identifiable, qui peut éventuellement recevoir toutes autres marques tant d'actualisation [-ž baⁱnə] -ж байна, [-ž baⁱsⁿn] -ж байсан, [-ž baⁱw] -ж байв, [-ž baⁱtᵘɣəⁱ] -ж байтугай, etc. que de détermination [-ž baⁱž] -ж байж, [-ž baⁱɣad] -ж байгаад, [-ž baⁱtəl] -ж байтал, etc. Dans cette situation, les deux unités verbe+ž et auxiliaire [baⁱ~] бай- conservent clairement leur propre statut et, surtout, le verbe auxiliaire maintient simultanément non seulement sa réalisation initiale bilabiale occlusive [b], mais également le timbre de sa voyelle initiale, la diphtongue [aⁱ]. Dans une phase intermédiaire, par contre, la délimitation des deux termes de la combinaison [iržwəⁱnə] tend à s'estomper dans une réalisation coarticulée dans laquelle la consonne bilabiale occlusive perd ce trait au profit d'une émission labiale fricative [v], [w] ou [β] cependant que la diphtongue [aⁱ] se détimbre en [əⁱ]. Enfin, une phase extrême aboutit à la réalisation d'un même ensemble d'éléments significatifs, fusionnés en un même complexe, désormais suffixe de plein exercice, où l'élément déterminant verbal [–ž] reste immédiatement repérable, de même que l'unité d'actualisation prédicative de l'auxiliaire, mais où le radical du verbe auxiliaire (chaîne initiale jusqu'à la voyelle initiale inclusivement) est désormais strictement élidé. Ce fait met en jeu les mécanismes de production de suffixes complexes dont les ressorts sont au premier chef les processus de contraction impliquant anticipation et persévération. Ceux-ci

sont caractéristiques des réalisations et des conduites orales, pour le langage humain en général et pour chaque langue dans des conditions qui lui sont propres. Signalons au passage que si le verbe auxiliaire est susceptible de recevoir de multiples marques d'actualisation ou de détermination, il ne s'ensuit pas que toutes ces combinaisons sont susceptibles d'aboutir à la formation de suffixes stabilisés et clairement reconnus par la conscience linguistique. Ainsi, sauf inadvertance de notre part, il ne nous semble pas—à l'exception de [baⁱnᵊ] байна, que les autres formes de l'auxiliaire [baⁱ~] бай- indiquées plus haut ([baⁱsᵊn] байсан, [baⁱw] байв, [baⁱtᵘɣəⁱ] байтугай, [baⁱ ž] байж, [baⁱɣad] байгаад, [baⁱtᵊl] байтал, etc.) soient en mesure d'entrer dans des combinaisons contractées sur le même modèle que [-žⁱnᵊ / -čⁱnᵊ].

B) C'est le diagnostic portant sur la structure de cette unité complexe qui appelle un rapprochement avec d'autres procédés suffixaux et avec leur mode de formation. Le plus évident de ces rapprochements concerne l'actualisation indicative « non accomplie » [-žɛ / -čɛ] (écrit. uigur-mongole : *-zuqui*, forme modernisée *-zei -cei* ; cyrillique : -жээ / -чээ), ainsi que ses variantes orthographiques contextuelles (-zuqui / -cuqui / -züküi/ -cüküi). Cette unité composite est clairement reconnue comme intégrée par la conscience linguistique mongole au « catalogue » normatif des formes « grammaticales ». Elle jouit – à juste titre – d'une place bien établie dans le paradigme des unités d'actualisation verbale et est présente tant dans les descriptions de la langue mongole que dans de multiples outils pédagogiques même si ses effets et son contenu sémantiques, sous l'effet d'une volonté classificatoire alignée sur le modèle des « temps » des langues européennes, sont souvent décrits de façon insatisfaisante. Il est au demeurant fréquent que soient soulignées sa présence privilégiée dans des modes d'expression écrite et sa relative rareté à l'oral. Il est toutefois à signaler qu'elle est reconnue comme un suffixe d'actualisation prédicative verbale parmi les autres (le plus souvent cataloguées selon leur contenu sémantique ou supposé tel) et qu'il est rare qu'une attention suffisante soit prêtée à sa structure propre. Ainsi peut-on rencontrer des assertions qui identifient le « q » ou « k » comme la marque de « l'allongement de la voyelle » ou en proposent une transcription erronée en « ɣ/ g »[7]

L'unité [-žɛ / -čɛ] et la combinaison [-ž baⁱnᵊ > -žⁱnᵊ], bien que l'une soit présente à l'écrit alors que l'autre reste un procédé strictement oral, présentent de ce point de vue une identité formelle frappante. Pour l'essentiel, il est possible d'affirmer qu'il s'agit d'unités de statut équivalent, produites selon un

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7   Beffa 1975 : 82

modèle commun. Leur différence principale repose sur le choix de deux verbes auxiliaires 'être' différents, toutefois déterminés par le même gérondif [-ž / -č] *-zu -cu*, -ж -ч. Dans le cas de [-žⁱnª / -čⁱnª], l'observation des variantes orales montrait qu'il s'agit du verbe [-baⁱ] *bai-* (*baji-*) 'être'.[8] Dans le cas de [-žɛ / -čɛ], il s'agit d'un autre verbe auxiliaire, le verbe [a-] 'être'. Celui-ci est ici affecté de l'un de ses participes, [-x / -xᵘⁱ] (écrit. uigur-mongole : *-qu -qui* / *-kü -küi > aqui* (-aqui) ; cyrillique : -x -хуй/-хүй), dont le contenu est le 'terme assigné à l'évènement', d'où la valeur de « futur » qui lui est attribuée lorsque cet événement appelle une identification temporelle mais qui peut aussi correspondre à une finalité ou à une capacité potentielle, comme dans *нисэх онгоц* [nisªx ongªc] 'avion' lit. 'barque à voler', *угаах машин* [ugax mašⁱn] *uɣaqu masin-a* (= *угаалгын машин* [ugalgⁱn mašⁱn] *uɣalɣa-jin masin-a*, désormais plus fréquent) 'machine à laver', etc. La forme non contractée de cette unité serait *ax, axui* [axᵘⁱ],[9] mais ici, du fait de la suffixation, elle subit d'une part l'élision de son radical (voyelle [a-] indiquée plus haut), mais également perd même la consonne [xᵘⁱ], qui ne subsiste que sous la forme de sa seule vocalisation palatalisée [ᵘⁱ/ɛⁱ], improprement identifiée comme une voyelle antérieure invariable « ээ » par l'écriture cyrillique (s'il s'agit bien d'un fait phonique appartenant au vocalisme antérieur au sens large, c'est du fait de la palatalisation et non en raison de la présence phonologique d'un timbre vocalique qui ne peut se manifester dans ce contexte). Nous observons ici une intéressante distanciation entre réalisations écrite et orale, la forme écrite uigur-mongole maintenant un modèle strict d'élision du seul radical du verbe auxiliaire [a-] et laissant subsister intacte la forme suffixale [–xᵘⁱ]. Par contre, l'oralisation pousse à l'extrême le glissement phonique en ne transmettant en définitive

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8 L'examen des diverses expressions verbales de l'« être » en mongol, au moins sous la forme des trois unités [-baⁱ], [a-] et [bol-], ainsi d'ailleurs que de la synonymie, appellerait d'amples développements tant sémantiques que pragmatiques

9 Que nous retrouvons d'ailleurs dans le terme [až axᵘⁱ] *azu aqui аж ахүй* 'économie, exploitation', néologisme forgé au XXème siècle. Les deux variantes du participe /-x/, soit [-xª] *-qu* -x et [-xəⁱ] *-qui* -хуй peuvent être ici évoquées comme un exemple intéressant de dynamique croisée de production du matériau significatif et de diversification lexicale. Si Poppe (1974 : 94) signale que « in the pre-classical language *-qu* and *-qui* were used indiscriminately » avant que *-qui* ne puisse plus être utilisé que comme substantif (plus exactement, *-qui* devenant la forme régulièrement porteuse de suffixes casuels, J.L.), le participe /x/ est effectivement très productif dans le domaine nominal jusqu'à son adoption comme « forme du dictionnaire » pour les verbes à la suite de la cyrillisation, concurrence qui en raréfie l'emploi jusque dans les années 1990, époque à laquelle il réapparaît, ce que nous signalait alors notre collègue et ami Z. Tümenžargal – avec, à ce qu'il nous semble, une certaine prédilection pour des néologismes scientifiques ou médicaux (Radnaabazar 2002).

que l'effet de vocalisation palatalisée [εⁱ] (retenue à son tour par l'orthographe cyrillique sous la forme -ээ à laquelle la plupart des grammaires assigne le rôle d'une exception diabolique à l' « harmonie vocalique », ce qui ne pourrait être le cas que si c'était … une voyelle).

C) Notons que ce processus de formation des suffixes présente dans le même temps en mongol une remarquable régularité : la suffixation par concaténation comportant l'élision du radical de l'élément second de la chaîne entrant dans la production du suffixe peut être retrouvée dans un nombre important de suffixes complexes. C'est par exemple le cas de la négation nominale *γεγŭ* [ügəⁱ] > suffixe -*εγŭ* [-gəⁱ]/ [-güⁱ]. C'est également ce que nous pouvons constater avec la construction dérivée du démonstratif [εdüⁱ] *edui* өдий 'à ce point' (formant une paire avec son alternatif « éloigné » [tεdüⁱ] *tedui* төдий, approximativement de même sens) entrant, sous sa forme « suffixale » [düⁱ] -дий /–дүй, dans la production d'une combinaison avec le participe infinitif formé d'une voyelle non-arrondie [-ʌ] -(u)γ-a / -(u)ge -аа⁴ et présentant la même élision du radical de l'élément second. Le résultat de cette formation est un ensemble stable, susceptible d'être reconnu comme un suffixe complexe, tel qu'il apparaît par exemple dans le terme [irεdüⁱ] *iregedüi* ирээдүй 'avenir, futur' (lit. '*qui est à ce point inaccompli*'). Il en va de même du suffixe de cas « directionnel » [-ru/-rü]- -ruu -руу / -рүү, dérivé du nom [uru] uruγu уруу 'vers le bas, vers l'aval'.

Sans doute conviendrait-il d'adjoindre ici une présentation des formes orthographiques spécifiques, pour illustrer les formes multiples sous lesquelles la dynamique de la suffixation est prise en compte par la conscience linguistique mongole et est loin de se réduire à la simple adjonction ou accumulation d'unités élémentaires indépendantes les uns des autres. Moins encore de lettres dont chacune représenterait de façon univoque une « consonne » ou une « voyelle ». Cette démarche est d'autant plus nécessaire dans le contexte d'une recherche de diagnostics relatifs à la continuité de l'émission et à la manifestation en son sein de faits d'anticipation et de persévération. Elle excéderait malheureusement très largement les dimensions imparties à la présente intervention. Aussi nous contenterons-nous de quelques illustrations. Un exemple usuel de persévération nous est fourni par la réalisation orale de la négation [ügəⁱ] *ügei* үгүй > [-gəⁱ]/ [-güⁱ] > suffixe -гүй. Alors que la dérivation [gəⁱ] ne comporte en tant que telle aucune labialisation (le dérivé verbal [ügəⁱsgə-] *ügejisge-* үгийсгэ- l'atteste, même si la variante [ügüⁱsgə-] үгүйсгэ- est tolérée), les réalisations dérivées transfèrent la labialisation du radical [ü-] sur la dérivation suffixale : [-güⁱ] -гүй et non [-gəⁱ] -гий *-гэй.

Une première remarque concerne le maintien ou non de l'unité indépendante originelle sous une forme suffixale. Là où l'écriture cyrillique repro-

duit à peu près systématiquement et uniformément les élisions du radical de l'élément suffixé, l'orthographe uigur-mongole présente un tableau plus complexe. Sans aller très au delà de cette constatation, soulignons d'une part que le maintien de l'unité dans sa forme originelle ou sa transformation en unité suffixale spécifique ne semblent pas obéir à une logique uniforme mais répondent plutôt à des choix orthographiques intervenus à des stades diachroniques variables sans intervention évidente de variations phonétiques ou phonologiques. Ainsi, la négation [ügəⁱ] *ügei* suffixe -гүй conserve-t-elle invariablement en écriture uigur-mongole la configuration de l'unité nominale originelle (ex. [nomgüⁱ] = *nom ügei*, номгүй), à la différence du cas directionnel [-ru] ayant sans doute acquis plus tardivement son usage suffixal (la reconnaissance d'un statut de marque casuelle à [uru] *uruγu* ne s'est stabilisée, non sans réticences, du moins sous la forme suffixale [-ru] *-ruu* que dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle).

Là où le suffixe est ainsi dérivé d'une unité originelle unique et autonome (« mot » devenant un suffixe),[10] la probabilité reste grande que ce terme passe au statut de suffixe sans changement orthographique. L'adoption de formes suffixales spécifiquement adaptées par contraction semble le plus régulièrement observable dans la formation de suffixes complexes, comme le montrent ici les unités de détermination formant suffixe avec l'unité qui suit. C'est alors cette dernière qui subit l'élision de son radical. Tel est le cas, par exemple, avec la formation associant le participe infinitif [-A] -(u)γ-a / -(u)ge -aa⁴ et le démonstratif [edüⁱ] *edui* өдий pour former le suffixe complexe [-Adüⁱ] -(*u*)*γadui* / -(*u*)*gedui*, -аа⁴дүй.

C'est également d'un tel processus associant dans une combinaison contractée le couple anticipation-persévération que relève l'enchaînement d'un verbe déterminant et d'un auxiliaire prédicatif réduit à une marque de participe formant un suffixe isolé, le jeu des deux actualisations mises en œuvre permettant de clarifier et d'affiner le message. C'est ce que produit l'enchaînement du Verbe 1 + participe + Verbe 2 lui-même réduit à un suffixe de participe et entrant donc dans le modèle d'élision du radical observé ci-dessus : [dorž irsⁿ sⁿn] *Дорж ирсэн сэн*, *Dorj était arrivé* ; [Dorž irᵊx sⁿn] *Дорж ирэх сэн*, *Dorj allait arriver* ; [dorž irdᵊk sⁿn] *Дорж ирдэг сэн*, *Dorj arrivait* (*habituellement*) ; etc. A noter que rien n'empêche le locuteur de produire un énoncé développé, dans lequel l'auxiliaire est réalisé sans élision suffixale : [dorž irsⁿ (irᵊx / irdᵊk / etc.) baisⁿn] *Дорж ирсэн* (*ирэх / ирдэг / etc.*) *байсан*, les énoncés produits,

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10   Comme le montre le cas du nom /dugᴀr дугаар 'numéro', suffixé en marque de numéral ordinal / -*duγar* / [-duγar] ~ [-dügɛr] -*duγar* -*duger* -дугаар ~ -дүгээр

contractés ou non, étant de sens identique (même si, dans ce dernier cas, le premier verbe, déterminant, peut être associé à un déterminant verbal gérondif : *Дорж ирж байсан* [dorž irž baisᵊn], au prix de la perte de l'information des divers participes actualisateurs).

3   Observations complémentaires

D'autres mécanismes interviennent dans l'orthographe uigur-mongole. Ils ne sont pas confondus avec la langue elle-même mais constituent des outils essentiels pour son analyse. Ils sont donc des témoignages majeurs de la conscience linguistique mongole et, parfois, de ses évolutions. Nous n'en décrirons ici que les aspects pouvant être rattachés à la fois à l'économie générale de l'écriture uigur-mongole dans ses rapports avec la langue elle-même et à la problématique de la relation anticipation / persévération dans l'oralité mongole. L'écriture uigur-mongole met en œuvre de nombreux signes qui, s'ils témoignent d'une perception et d'une intelligence remarquables de la continuité orale, n'ont pas pour autant une valeur d'équivalence phonique distinctive mais jouent un rôle majeur joué à l'oral par divers hiatus (vélaire, palatal, labial), eux aussi dépourvu de pertinence phonologique propre mais pour autant indispensables aux découpages segmentaux et à la structuration de l'émission. Nous en avons fourni un exemple dans un paragraphe précédent avec la présence de boucles intercalaires sans valeur phonique : ainsi, dans le suffixe du participe infinitif [-A] -(u)ɣ-a / -(u)ge -aa[4], une telle boucle s'avère-t-elle nécessaire non pour transmettre un son, mais pour permettre la mise en oeuvre d'un inventaire suffixal présentant une forme stable malgré la variation des contextes dans lesquels il intervient. La variation contextuelle à prendre en compte est ici celle de la terminaison du radical verbal sur lequel le suffixe de ce participe doit se connecter. Une observation, même superficielle, du corpus formé par l'ensemble des radicaux verbaux met en évidence que le plus grand nombre des verbes mongols présente un radical se terminant en consonne palatalisée ou vocalisée.[11] Pour donner un ordre de grandeur, l'inventaire des radicaux verbaux se terminant en consonne « nue »[12] ne s'élève qu'à environ 220 (auxquels peuvent certes être ajoutés les très nombreux dérivés factitifs en [-Ul-] -(u)ɣul- / -(u)gul- -уул-[2]), à comparer aux quelques milliers à dizaines de

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11   Par exemple grâce au recours à un dictionnaire inverse (Болд Л. 1976 ; Чоймаа Ш. 2006)
12   Дэвсгэр гийгүүлэгч / *debisger gejigülügci* 'consonne de fond' dans la tradition linguistique mongole

milliers de radicaux en consonnes palatalisées ou vocalisées. Ajoutons sur ce point que l'orthographe uigur-mongole note ces distinctions avec la rigueur la plus absolue alors que l'écriture cyrillique les rend largement indiscernables,[13] ce qui s'accompagne d'un recul perceptible de la conscience de ce fait au sein de la communauté linguistique mongole. Les effets de ce déséquilibre quantitatif sont importants : la palatalisation étant notée par un grand jambage « *i* » et la vocalisation par un petit jambage « *a/e* », trait malheureusement utilisé également pour noter en contexte non initial une voyelle phonologique non arrondie /A/ (cyr. aa, ээ, оо, өө), l'identité vocalisée ou non des consonnes et leurs enchaînements font l'objet d'une notation spécifique très stricte. Pour donner un nouvel exemple, si l'unité /l/ nue -*l*- / -л- intervient de façon importante comme commutateur verbo-nominal. Placé en dérivation à la fin d'un radical verbal, il assure la production d'un nom, l'adjonction d'un /l/ vocalisé [lᵊ] (uigur mongol -*la*- -*lu*- / cyr. ла⁴) produisant l'effet inverse (permet la formation d'un verbe à partir d'un nom). L'adjonction directe d'une voyelle formée d'un jambage derrière le jambage de vocalisation de la fin du radical, dont la probabilité est ultra-majoritaire, installerait à l'évidence des confusions inextricables (ne serait-ce que par le voisinage des deux jambages, susceptibles d'être lus * « ee » pour [g] ou [x]). C'est dans ces conditions que s'installe l'usage de conventions de lettres de démarcation faisant appel aux « *g* » [ɣ] ou « *k* » [g] mais également à « *j* » [j], « *ji* » [ji], « *ij* » [ij] ou « *b* » [b/w]. Ainsi la séquence [lᵊ] -*la*- + [A] -*a*- prend-elle prioritairement, dans une unité lexicale en particulier, la forme [lA] -*laɣa-, -luɣa-, -lege-*, etc., -лаа⁴.

Le recours à de multiples équivalents graphiques pour rendre ces hiatus mériterait de plus amples développements. Ils ne sont pas, d'une part, dépourvus de liens avec le reste de l'outillage articulatoire de la langue mongole et témoignent à nouveau de la remarquable intelligence linguistique qui s'y manifeste : le choix des lettres-hiatus est loin d'être aléatoire et correspond aux points d'articulation vélaire (voire uvulaire), palatal et labial permettant le freinage, voire le blocage du passage de l'air (friction ou occlusion). La très évidente prédominance des hiatus « vélaires » par rapport aux « palataux » ou « labiaux » n'est pas, de ce point de vue, le fait du hasard. Il est à observer que

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13   C'est en particulier le cas des formes du participe [-x], employé en cyrillique comme forme du dictionnaire et qui, rendant nécessaire la présence d'une lettre-voyelle entre le radical et le suffixe, empêche de percevoir la différence entre radical vocalisé et non-vocalisé : /ab-/ [ab-] *ab*- ав- 'prendre' > авах vs /jab³-/ [jawᵊ-] *jabu*- ява- 'aller, partir' > явах, où n'apparaissent pas les caractères distinctifs des deux radicaux. C'est la raison principale qui nous pousse, depuis des décennies, à préconiser l'emploi du radical nu comme forme du dictionnaire … avec un médiocre succès il faut l'avouer.

ce jeu articulatoire est présent tant à l'oral qu'à l'écrit, mais porte dans chacun de ces deux grands domaines sur des faits différents, témoignant à notre sens de la grande attention portée par la conscience linguistique mongole aux conditions variables prévalant dans les transmissions orale et écrite de la continuité et des modulations du discours. A titre d'exemple, les hiatus oraux qui isolent les successions de voyelles, rendus soit par un [ɣ/g], non phonologique, lorsque la voyelle seconde est non-arrondie ([xarənda + a] 'son crayon' > réalisé [xarəndaɣa] *qaranda- ban* харандаараа); soit par un [j] en présence d'une voyelle seconde arrondie ([xarənda + u] 'est-ce un crayon?' > réalisé [xarəndaju] *qaranda-uu* харандаа юу. Par contre, cette situation n'entraîne pas en règle générale en écriture uigur-mongole l'intervention d'une lettre-hiatus autre que celle qui est incorporée à l'orthographe normative du suffixe considéré. Le recours à ces conventions n'est pas pour autant dicté dans son ensemble par une volonté d'équivalence phonique.

C'est sans doute dans cette écriture et dans ses conventions orthographiques que la vision systémique d'une continuité du discours s'affirme le plus clairement. Nous pouvons en effet observer des variations orthographiques ne correspondant pas à des changements phoniques, dont la «boucle intercalaire» décrite ci-dessus est une des manifestations. La notation de plusieurs des suffixes de cas est de ce point de vue révélatrice. Soulignons donc une nouvelle fois que l'image fournie par les faits observés ici ne constitue pas, et ne vise pas à représenter des équivalences phoniques immédiates, mais une conception beaucoup plus profonde des mécanismes du système linguistique

Outre ce choix des lettres-hiatus, la configuration de ces suffixes présente un intérêt particulier lorsque des besoins combinatoires aboutissent à la formation de suffixes complexes associant en particulier suffixes de cas et suffixes pronominaux. Ainsi le suffixe du cas instrumental, constitué fondamentalement d'une voyelle non arrondie /A/ et d'une dérivée /r/ «nue» (non-vocalisée/non-palatalisée) fait-il appel à un hiatus initial «palatal» [ij] derrière un nom se terminant en consonne «nue»: [gazᵊr] *ɣazar* газар, 'terre, lieu' > /gazr/+/Ar/, *ɣazar-ijar* газраар, 'par la terre, par terre'; [nom] *nom*, ном, 'livre, doctrine' > /nom/ + /Ar/ *nom-ijar* номоор, 'par un livre, selon la doctrine'; et à un hiatus initial «labial» derrière un nom se terminant en consonne «palatalisée» ou «vocalisée»: [morⁱ] *mori*, морь, 'cheval' > / morⁱ/+/Ar/, [morⁱor] *mori-bar* мориор, 'à cheval'; [oŋɣᵊcᵊ] *ongɣoca*, онгоц, 'navette, bateau, avion' > / ongᵊcᵊ/+/Ar/, [oŋɣᵊcor] *ongɣoca-bar* онгоцоор, 'en bateau, en avion'. La configuration est identique lors de la mise en place d'un suffixe pronominal réfléchi, constitué d'une voyelle non-arrondie (à laquelle s'adjoint un [n] final), précédée de la même alternative pour la notation d'un hiatus palatal derrière une consonne «nue»; labial derrière une consonne vocalisée ou

palatalisée : [gazᵊr] *γazar* газар, 'terre' > /gazr/+/A/, *γazar-ijan* газраа, 'sa terre' ;
[nom] *nom* ном, 'livre' > /nom/ + /A/, [nomo] номоо, 'son livre' > *nom-ijan* ;
[morⁱ] *mori* морь, 'cheval' > / morⁱ/+/A/, [morⁱo] *mori-ban* морио, 'son cheval' ;
[oŋγᵊcᵊ] *ongγoca* онгоц, 'avion' > / ongᵊcᵊ/+/A/, [oŋγᵊco] *ongγoca-ban* онгоцоо,
'son avion'.

L'intérêt est encore plus grand lorsque plusieurs suffixes se contractent, par
exemple dans le cas où un suffixe de cas est suivi d'un suffixe pronominal
réfléchi, ainsi que dans plusieurs autres situations :

Si l'enchaînement des deux suffixes sans notation orthographique intégrée
reste possible, comme nous l'avons vu dans l'alternative licite [-žⁱnᵊ / -čⁱnᵊ] ~
[-ž baⁱnᵊ], il est remarquable que des combinaisons contractées puissent être
ici aussi relevées dans la formation de suffixes secondaires dont la complexité
et la régularité de formation doivent être à nouveau soulignées.

Deux phénomènes se manifestent dans cette situation, soit isolément dans
un suffixe, soit réunis dans la notation d'un même suffixe :

Modification de la notation de l'hiatus initial du second suffixe. Dans les cas
où la terminaison du premier suffixe est vocalisée ou palatalisée et où la nota-
tion orthographique uigur-mongole régulière de l'hiatus initial du second suf-
fixe est, comme dans l'instrumental ou le pronom réfléchi abordés plus haut,
le [b] et le [j], ces unités intervenant précédemment sont remplacés par [γ, g] :

> *ablatif* + *réfléchi* : /-ᴀs/ + /A/ [-a⁴s]+[- a⁴] *-aca (ece)* + *ban* > *-aca ban* ou
>   *-acaγan* / *-ecegen*
> *comitatif* + *réfléchi* : /-tᵊi/ + /A/ [-tᵊi]+[- a] *-tai/ tai*+ *ban* > *-tai-ban* ou
>   *-taiγan* / *-teiigen*, etc..[14]

Dans le cas du datif-locatif, une deuxième transformation intervient : alors
que la notation écrite uigur-mongole classique de la vocalisation du suffixe est
représentée par une boucle, suggérant une vocalisation labialisée [-dᵊ /-dᵊr]~
[-dᵘ /-dᵘr] *-du/ -dur*, et bien que la vocalisation non labialisée « -da » soit attes-
tée dès l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* concurremment aux formes « -du » et « -
dur »,[15] la boucle disparaît, lors de l'insertion du datif-locatif dans un suffixe
composite contracté, au profit d'un jambage : *-du/ -dur> -de*. Dans le même
temps, l'hiatus éventuel du second suffixe (dans le présent exemple, le *-b-/ -ij-*
du pronom réfléchi *-ban/ -ijan*) se neutralise en *-γ-/ -g-* en fonction du contexte

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14   V. par ex. Poppe N. 1974 : 80–84

15   Rachewiltz I. de 1972 : 211–212, -da : 83 occurrences ; 218, -dur et -dur-iyan/-iyen : 75 occu-
        rences

vocalique du mot et non plus en fonction du caractère vocalisé ou non de la consonne de rattachement. La combinaison obtenue, qui peut une fois encore être maintenue sous la forme *-du-ban/ -dur-ijan*, évolue en *-daɣan -degen*. Il s'agit d'un fait récurrent qui voit aligner les formes orthographiques en boucle finale d'unités lexicales ou grammaticales (pour autant que cette distinction soit pertinente en mongol) vers des formes ayant recours à un jambage identifiant le trait de vocalisation de la consonne qui précède. Ce fait peut être observé par contraste entre des états diachroniques révélateurs. Ainsi, à partir du nom le plus souvent adverbial [ogtᵊ] *oɣtu* огт 'inexistence, suppression / pas du tout, absolument pas'[16] on assiste à la formation d'un nom [ogtᵊrgᵘⁱ] огторгуй désignant l''univers'[17] dont la notation en écriture uigur-mongole présente une évolution remarquable, une forme ancienne bien attestée *oɣturɣui* (comparable de ce point de vue à tous les autres dérivés de [ogtᵊ] *oɣtu* огт) s'étant vu substituer au XIXème ou au début du XXème siècle une forme « moderne » *oɣtarɣui*.[18] Ici encore, cette évolution, qui ne concerne donc à notre connaissance que le nom [ogtᵊrgᵘⁱ] огторгуй n'est pas l'effet d'une variation phonique, la vocalisation de [ogtᵊ] ne mettant en jeu aucune voyelle phonologique, mais un alignement sur la logique qui réserve largement les marques de vocalisation par « jambage » à une orthographe lexicale, cependant que l'emploi des « boucles » est plus fréquent dans le corps des unités grammaticales, allant, comme nous l'avons vu, jusqu'à des emplois purement graphiques, sans équivalence phonique.

La régularité de ce phénomène est également attestée dans le cas de la concaténation du suffixe de cas datif-locatif [-dᵊ /-dᵊr]~[-dᵘ /-dᵘr] *-du/ -dur*, vu plus haut, avec la « particule » pronominalisante [xⁱ] *-ki* -хи (-хь, -х). Dans ce cas, la boucle inhérente à la notation écrite du suffixe datif-locatif est abandonnée au profit d'un jambage : *du/ dur + ki* est réalisé *-daki/deki* -дахь дэх.[19]

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16   V. son dérivé verbal [ogtlᵊ] *oɣtula-* огтло- 'amputer'

17   Ainsi perçu comme un univers du vide absolu, par contraste avec ses « synonymes » [jertöncᵉ] *jirtincu* ертөнц < [jerᵉ] *jeru* еп 'général, universel', de sens parfois proche de [ogtᵊ] et [orčləŋ] *orcilaŋ* орчлон qui décrit pour sa part les 'révolutions célestes'.

18   Déjà présente dans le Dictionnaire de Šagž (1926–1929) ; Bürintegös 1977 : 67 ; Болд Л. 2008 : vol. 3, 1464–1465.

19   À remarquer : cette unité, susceptible en tant que suffixe d'intervenir en tous contextes vocaliques, est, en tant que telle, dépourvue de timbre propre, les lettres a, э, o, ө représentant par convention le fait détimbré [ə]. Or cette unité est susceptible d'une lexicalisation exclusivement vocalisée en [a], sous la forme du verbe [daxi-] дахи- 'se produire, se reproduire', d'où le sens de son gérondif [daxin] дахин 'à nouveau' et dont l'orthographe uigur-mongole indifféremment *daki-* ou *Daki-* trahit l'étymologie suffixale.

Enfin, la cohérence de cet ensemble de dispositifs se manifeste dans la convergence qui intervient entre plusieurs d'entre eux. De ce point de vue, la combinaison unifiée en un même suffixe du cas accusatif et du pronom réfléchi offre un exemple remarquable. Les marques de l'accusatif associent en mongol contemporain un élément palatal, généralement identifié comme [i] ou [ĩ] ы ou ий et une consonne finale /g/ non vocalisée > [k]. En écriture uigur-mongole, seul l'élément palatal est présent—soit sous la forme d'un grand jambage, marque de palatalisation en graphie finale, derrière une consonne nue terminant le nom mis à l'accusatif, soit—quand la consonne finale est vocalisée ou palatalisée—comme une chaîne composée d'une « tige retroussée », etgᵊr šilbᵊ, « j » grand jambage à l'extrémité recourbée vers le haut généralement identifié [j] alors suivi du grand jambage en graphie finale. Ces marques de l'accusatif « i » ou « ji », lorsqu'elles sont suivies du pronom réfléchi /ʌ/ *ban* / *ijan*, adoptent une configuration *-juɣan* / *-jügen* qui nécessite le rappel de deux éclaircissements : la boucle qui intervient en deuxième lettre n'est pas une voyelle, mais la boucle intercalaire examinée plus haut, cependant que les lettres « ɣ » ou « g » ne sont autres que les modifications des hiatus *-ban* ou *-ijan* déjà observés en situation de ligature. Au passage, on remarquera que cette disposition, en interposant la boucle graphique interconsonantique « u » entre « j » et « ɣ/g », établit que, pour la conscience linguistique mongole, la marque de l'accusatif n'est pas une voyelle /i/ mais bien une consonne /j/.

Conclusion

La comparaison des deux procédés ([-žⁱnᵊ / -čⁱnᵊ] et [-žɛ / -čɛ]) et les remarques complémentaire qu'elles appellent nous amènent à poser qu'il existe un lien direct entre la genèse de ces multiples formes de contraction et les mécanismes d'anticipation et de persévération propre aux conduites orales et à leurs cadres tant linguistiques que psycho-neurologiques. Là où l'emploi du terme et du concept d'« agglutination » impose l'idée d'une succession d'unités discrètes sans lien avec celles qui les précèdent ou avec celles qui les suivent, l'examen du matériau linguistique amène à la constatation que cette vision, adéquate pour analyser la structure interne de chaque unité élémentaire, doit être relativisée dès lors qu'est examinée la réalisation des chaînes d'unités constitutives du discours. Plus encore, cette exigence s'applique en retour à l'analyse de toute unité morphémique complexe, aussi figée qu'elle semble dans des inventaires formels. Si la prise en compte dans ce cas des contraintes diachroniques ou dialectales s'impose, du moins quand il existe des preuves ou témoignages suffisamment explicites de leur impact propre, l'incidence des effets

de la continuité discursive sur la réception et l'émission, dans des processus associant anticipation et persévération dans des modèles de contraction nous semble primordiale (les variations diachroniques et dialectales en constituant d'ailleurs souvent des manifestations).

Si nous prenons l'exemple des objets examinés dans les pages qui précèdent, il apparaît que persévération et anticipation, si elles sont loin d'être absentes de la littérature scientifique, y sont souvent assez étroitement cantonnées, dans des travaux au demeurant remarquables, aux problèmes de la physiologie ou de la pathologie du langage et de la neuro-psychiatrie, domaines particuliers et spécialisés dans les problématiques linguistiques, malgré leur immense importance théorique et pratique.[20] Anticipation et persévération sont en fait à considérer avant tout comme dimensions centrales et normales du langage et de la communication en même temps que des champs d'expérimentation remettant en cause des visions statiques et étroitement classificatoires de la langue et du langage et de leur « possession » par les locuteurs. Si les approches de leurs aspects pathologiques peuvent en susciter et en favoriser l'étude, on ne peut sans doute que s'en féliciter.[21] Mais ceci ne signifie nullement qu'il s'agit de phénomènes en eux-mêmes anormaux. Il nous semble, bien au contraire, que la dimension pathologique et son étude est perçue par contraste et contradiction non avec l'absence mais avec le rôle permanent de ces faits, fondateurs de maints aspects formels, de la production du matériau significatif, aux structures et modèles syntaxiques, discursifs et communicationnels du langage « normal ».

John J. Ohala remarque que « *Many sound patterns in languages are cases of fossilized coarticulation, that is in synchronic or phonetic contextual variation became diachronic or phonological variation via sound changes* » (Ohala 1993 : 155), qui peut alimenter l'idée que ces phénomènes relèveraient d'un certain point de vue d'une anomalie. Nous nous sentons ici plus proche d'Edward Flemming, quand il souligne que « *rather coarticulation is part of grammar, and the structure of its grammar is very similar to the structure of the phonological component* » (Flemming 2007 : 2). Dans ce type de démarche, l'étude de la langue mongole présente de nombreux champs et de nombreux traits susceptibles de suggérer leur ré-appropriation par la linguistique générale. Non seule-

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20   Irigaray Luce 1973 ; Sabouraud Olivier 1995 ; Marchal Alain 2011 : 111

21   Sous réserve d'inventaire, il ne nous semble pas que les troubles du langage, à l'exception de travaux sur les surdités, aient reçu, au sein des études mongoles et en Mongolie de développements répondant à leur importance tant scientifique qu'en termes de santé publique. Sans doute des initiatives dans ce domaine pourraient-elles s'avérer opportunes.

ment en poussant celle-ci à faire appel à des matériaux linguistiques mongols pour examiner de nombreux points souvent considérés comme définitivement acquis des théories linguistique, mais en faisant en sorte que les études mongolisantes elles-mêmes, sur la base de leurs expériences et de leur expertise propre, avancent des propositions pouvant avoir une portée essentielle pour les recherches linguistiques en général. Ce pourrait être la cas en particulier de fructueuses recherches sur les notions de persévération et d'anticipation, de variations de la pertinence, catégories essentielles de toute approche phonologique mais aussi de toute analyse des structures du matériau significatif mongol et de ses évolutions, suggérant de multiples révisions des approches traditionnelles relatives aux relations entre l'oral et l'écrit. Mais tout autant en mettant en évidence, par la description et l'analyse de faits attestés dans la (les) langue(s) mongole(s) et relevant du domaine mongolisant, par la proposition de thématiques et de projets de recherches, les liens qui unissent des secteurs souvent considérés comme très spécialisés—et à ce titre menacés de marginalisation—et des foyers centraux et fondamentaux des faits et des mécanismes linguistiques les plus généraux.[22]

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22   Ces pages, rédigées afin de rendre hommage avec beaucoup d'amitié à notre collègue Kara György, s'inscrivent sans en être extraites dans la préparation d'un ouvrage de description et d'analyse de la langue mongole—fruit de près de 50 années d'enseignement de la langue mongole à l'INALCO et des réflexions que nous avons développées au cours de cette longue activité, sans les publier pour la plupart. Nous espérons désormais pouvoir le soumettre dans un avenir proche à l'attention des mongolisants et des linguistes.

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The Dongxiang (Santa) Ending -*ğuŋ* and Its Allies

Hans Nugteren

1   Usage

The Dongxiang suffix -*ğuŋ*, written ⟨-*gvun*⟩ in the Pinyin-based spelling, is a specialized spatial ending denoting a general location or direction, which can usually be translated as 'via, along, by, around', but often also simply as 'to, in the direction of'. This paper will discuss the functions and origins of this suffix.[1]

For practical reasons I will here follow the experts on Dongxiang and consider -*ğuŋ* a case ending rather than an adverb suffix. Although it is productive, -*ğuŋ* does not seem to occur very frequently, as far as I could establish by reading published Dongxiang texts. In the majority of documented examples, -*ğuŋ* appears on spatial stems, demonstratives and interrogatives.

The range of documented semantic nuances is reflected in the variety of labels attached to this ending. Kim (2003: 354) calls it the *locative-prosecutive* or *prosecutive*, whereas Bökh (1985: 101, 126), Todaeva (1961: 21), and Liu (1981: 41) settle for *directive*. For the sake of simplicity, the abbreviation DIR will be used throughout in the glosses.

The following examples illustrate the semantic reach of the suffix. In examples (1–3) the focus is on the choice of itinerary rather than on the destination.

(1) *ənə mo-ğuŋ   yawu ma taŋwaŋ-də   kuru-nə*
     this road-DIR walk and Tangwang-DAT reach-PRS
     'Walk along this road and you will get to Tangwang.' (Bökh 1985: 101)

(2) *bi ula   źiənźiə-ğuŋ yawu-yə çi ula   kuan-ğuŋ yawu*
     I mountain top-DIR   walk-IMP1 you mountain foot-DIR   walk
     'I'll go [there] by the top of the mountain; you go by the foot of the mountain.' (Bökh 1985: 101)

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(3) *çi   hə   ula-ǧuŋ   əçi-ʒi   əri*
     you that mountain-DIR go-CV   search
     'Go to/up that mountain and look' (Liu 1981: 41)

Examples (4–12) describe a general or approximate direction or area.

(4) *çi   daura-ǧuŋ   uʒə*
     you underside-DIR see
     'Look down' (Todaeva 1961: 66)

(5) *hə   kuŋ   quaina-ǧuŋ yawu!*
     that person behind-DIR walk
     'Walk behind that person!' (Kim 2003: 354)

(6) *bi   həndə-du-ǧuŋ   yawu-ʒi bi-sə,   ʒien-nə   agi-ʒi*
     I   there-DAT.CVR-DIR walk-CV be-COND clothes-REFPOS take-CV
     irə-wo   la
     come-PST PTCL
     'As I walked along there [by that route], I got my clothes.' (Liu 1981: 41)

(7) *ġadanə-ǧuŋ   tori-ʒi   uʒə*
     outside-DIR circle-CV see
     'Have a stroll (around the) outside and see.' (Bökh 1985: 127)

(8) *bi   uʒə-sə   hə   ġoroŋ-ǧuŋ-nə   oçira-nə   ma*
     I   see-COND that courtyard-DIR-REFPOS turn-PRS PTCL
     'When I look, s/he is strolling in/around her/his courtyard.' (Bökh 1985: 107)

(9) *çini   sugie-nə   əndə-ǧuŋ   əri*
     you.GEN axe-REFPOS here-DIR   search
     'Look for your axe over here/around here.' (Bökh 1985: 135)

(10) *ʒuaŋko   quina-ǧuŋ   çəʒi yawu-ʒi wo*
      courtyard.wall behind-DIR cart go-CV   COP
      'A cart is moving behind the courtyard wall.' (Bökh 1985: 101)

(11) *ənə udu mataŋ   qala-ǧuŋ   tori-lə   əçi-nə?*
      this day we.INCL where-DIR circle-CV go-PRS
      'Where are we going to stroll today?' (Bökh 1985: 141)

(12) *hə   kïwaŋ-nə   qala-ǧuŋ   əri-ku-ni   məʑie da-wə*
     that son-REFPOS where-DIR search-PFUT-ACC know cannot-PST
     'She did not know where to look for her son' (Todaeva 1961: 105)

Sentence (13) has an illative meaning.

(13) *hə   yaŋyu-ni   ənə fuda-ǧuŋ kie*
     that potato-ACC this bag-DIR   put
     'Put those potatoes in this bag.' (Liu 1981: 41)

The ending *-ǧuŋ* has a more specific function than the dative-locative *-də*, which is also used to express a general directive notion, and has cognates in all of Mongolic.

It is harder to sharply delineate the functions of *-ǧuŋ* from those of the even rarer directive/prosecutive *-rə*. Liu (41) and Bökh (101) provide separate terms for the endings *-ǧuŋ* and *-rə*, but both authors agree on the description 方向格 *fāngxiànggè* (lative or allative) for *-ǧuŋ*. In spite of the different labels, *-ǧuŋ* and *-rə* often seem to be interchangeable, as noted by Todaeva, Bökh and Kim. The following examples for the usage of *-rə* feature some of the same semantic shades as *-ǧuŋ*, such as itinerary and general area.

(14) *bi ənə mo-rə   əçi-nə*
     I   this road-DIR go-PRS
     'I'll go by this road' (Liu 1981: 41)

(15) *biʑien-ni   ġoni-la   hə   bənçə-rə osuŋ iʑie-ʒi wo*
     we.EXCL-GEN sheep-PL that slope-DIR grass eat-CV COP
     'Our sheep are grazing (eating grass) on that slope.' (Liu 1981: 41)

(16) *ġoŋ-ni   hə   mian-rə ġoni adula-ʒi wo*
     gully-GEN that side-DIR sheep herd-CV COP
     'S/he is herding sheep on that [other] side of the gully.' (Bökh 1985: 102)

(17) *tani   həndə-rə apa   tari-ʒi xəŋ wo*
     you.PL.GEN there.DIR barley plant-CV good COP
     'In that area of yours growing barley is good [i.e. a lot of barley is growing].'
     (Bökh 1985: 288)

(18) *fuʐuǧudu bi nanśiaŋ-rə   tori-wo*
     yesterday I Nanxiang-DIR circle-PST
     'Yesterday I strolled around Nanxiang / in the Nanxiang area.' (Bökh 1985:
     229)

Both Todaeva and Bökh provide examples in which either suffix works (19–22):

(19) *bi guŋçaŋ-rə   (~ guŋçaŋ-ǧuŋ) tori-wo*
     I factory-DIR factory-DIR   circle-PST
     'I strolled by/past/via the factory.' (Bökh 1985: 102)

(20) *uilie kie-səŋ oroŋ-rə   (~ oroŋ-ǧuŋ) hə irə-wə   yə?*
     work do-PP place-DIR place-DIR   that come-PST PTCL
     'Did he come to the place where he works?' (Todaeva 1961: 21)

(21) *çi   kïwasila dunda-ǧuŋ (~ dunda-rə) nadu-lə əçi*
     you child.PL middle-DIR middle-DIR play-CV COP
     'Go and play with (? amongst) the children.' (Todaeva 1961: 66)[2]

(22) *gie-də   kuićien wə, çi naraŋ-ǧuŋ (~ naraŋ-rə) əçi*
     house-DAT cold   COP you sun-DIR   sun-DIR   go
     'It's cold in the house, go in the sun.' (Todaeva 1961: 66)

2   Published Etymologies

Kim and Bökh derive Dongxiang *-ǧuŋ* from **-(G)Ur*, the *prolative* case according
to Poppe (1955: 205).[3] The form *-GUUr* given by Kim reflects the long vowel
found in modern Central Mongolic languages.

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2 Judging from Todaeva 1961: 108, sentence 3, just *dunda* would have sufficed here.

3 The etymology of *-rə* is as unclear as that of *-ǧuŋ*. Bökh's suggestion, that *-rə* is identical to
   the final element of spatial adverbs/postpositions like **dotara* 'inside', **deere* 'upside', **doara*
   'underneath', seems unlikely. Many Mongolists would argue these forms do not even contain
   a suffix *-rA*, but rather represent an old formans *-r* followed by the old dative-locative *-A*.
   Other solutions that come to mind range from 'improbable' to 'conceivable, but impossible
   to prove'. It seems unlikely that Dongxiang *-rə* is descended from the old formans *-rU*. Perhaps
   it arose as a variant of the comitative case (normally *-lə*) (cf. Bökh 1985: 128, Kim 2003:
   354). It also seems possible that it is a cognate of the Khalkha directive *-rUU ~ -lUU* (from
   the adverb/postposition **huruu* 'downward', also present in Dongxiang as *furu*) or of the

Although -*(G)Ur* appears to be wholly absent in Middle Mongol and Pre-classical texts, the modern distribution suggests it was quite widespread, but perhaps limited to a closed category of spatial roots, as is the case today in Ordos, Khalkha, and Buryat. Examples from Khalkha include *dee-güür, doo-guur, dot-uur, gad-uur, xoy-guur, dund-uur* (from **dee-* 'above', **doo-* 'under', **dota-* 'inside', **gada-* 'outside', **koi-* 'behind', and **dumda* 'middle') and on non-primary stems like *ur-d-uur* from **uri-da* 'to the front', *xoy-xn-uur* from **koi-kan* 'a bit to the back'. These forms, like the Dongxiang forms with -*ǧuŋ*, have locative, directive and prolative/prosecutive meanings.

Dongxiang also added -*ǧuŋ* to some of the spatial nouns, but unlike -*(G)UUr* in Khalkha, usually not directly on the spatial roots, e.g. *źiərə-ǧuŋ* < **dee-re* 'top, upside', *ġadanə-ǧuŋ* < **gada-na* 'outside', *quina-ǧuŋ* < **koi-na* 'back side', *məliə-ǧuŋ* < **emü-ne* 'front side', *daura-ǧuŋ* < **doa-ra* 'underside', *dunda-ǧuŋ* < **dumda* 'middle, centre' (Bökh 1985: 101, 126; Todaeva 1961: 66).

Interrogative and demonstrative stems resulted in the following forms: *ali-ǧuŋ, qala-ǧuŋ, əndə-ǧuŋ, həndə-ǧuŋ, təndə-ǧuŋ*, from *ali* 'which', *qala* 'where', *əndə* 'here', *həndə* 'there', *təndə* 'there' (Bökh 1985: 135, 140, 142). Note also *həndəduǧuŋ* in example [6] above. However, I did not find any examples for -*ǧuŋ* or -*rə* on personal pronouns.[4]

The proposed etymology involving **-(G)Ur* is phonetically possible, as there are other examples for the development of syllable-final **-r* into Dongxiang -*ŋ/-n*. However, the more common development is **-r* > -∅.[5] Most instances of Dongxiang -*n/-ŋ* go back to original **-n* or **-ŋ* or syllable-final **-l*.[6]

The typical developments of **-r* and **-l* can be contrasted as follows: *qa* 'hand' (**gar*) vs. *qaŋ* 'fire' (**gal*) and *mata-* 'to forget' (**marta-*), vs. *maŋta-* 'to dig' (**malta-*).

Further examples for the regular loss of **-r* include *mo* 'road' (**mör*), *o* 'dawn' (**ör*), *xo* 'nest' (**heür*), *gie* 'house' (**ger*), *qawa* 'nose' (**kabar*). The normal development of **-l* can be seen in *baŋ* 'honey' (**bal*), *koŋ ~ kuan* 'foot' (**köl*), *ġoŋ*

Mongghul locative -*re* (from the adverb/postposition **deere* 'upside, on', Dongxiang *źierə*). Finally, it cannot be excluded that -*rə* developed from the suffix **-(G)Ur*, which has been proposed as the origin of -*ǧuŋ*.

4   Many of these formations have parallels with the alternative ending -*rə*, such as *qala-rə* 'in what direction', *əndə-rə* 'in this direction', *həndə-rə* 'in that direction', *təndə-rə* 'in that direction' (Bökh 1985: 135, 140).

5   Preservation of **-r* as -*ɩ* also occurs, as in *ćiə-gə* < **tergen* 'cart'. Some words feature the development **-r* > -*u*, e.g. *mandau* < **möndür* 'hail'.

6   The dictionary of Mǎ & Chén shows more diverse reflexes of syllable-final -*r* and -*l* than the other sources.

'river' (*gol), śien 'tail' (*seül), ʒəŋ 'year' (*ǰil), ġuruŋ 'flour' (*guril), un 'winter' (*übül).

Examples for the less common development *-r into -ŋ/-n include bəŋǧən ~ bə́ǧən 'sister-in-law' (*bergen < *berigen), bəŋǧə ~ bəŋǧə 'flea' (*bürge), olie ~ wanlie 'half' (*örle < *öreele), xoŋlo- 'to get angry' (*haurla-), nuduŋ 'pestle' (*nidüür).

Only Kalmuck and Eastern Yugur seem to use the prolative suffix -(G)Ur as a case or case-like ending on common nouns.

In Kalmuck its shape is -(G)UUr with vowel harmonic alternation uu/üü; the initial consonant of the suffix only appears after stems ending in a long vowel or diphthong. Bläsing (2003: 235) considers it a part of the normal case paradigm.

In Eastern Yugur, the suffix somehow developed two incarnations. On spatial stems it appears as -GUUr, both in old formations from the root such as di:ɣuːr, du:ǧu:r from *dee- 'above', *doo- 'under', and in new formations from extended spatial nouns such as ġadana-ǧu:r, hdɔrɔ-ǧu:r, χɔitə-ǧu:r from *gada-na 'outside', *dota-ra 'inside', *koi-tu 'behind' (Bolčulu & Jalsan 1990: 220). According to Junast, the phonetic shape is -Gər, only with variants in the initial consonant, but he also gives a form unəŋgu:r 'along here' with a long rounded vowel (Junast 1981: 24, 72).

It is also found on recently developed spatial stems such as, ǰaġaǧu:r 'to the South' from ǰaġa 'top' < *ǰaka 'collar' and χwaru:r 'to the front' from χwa:r < *kabar 'nose'. The latter seems to be the only spatial without -G- in the suffix (see Bolčulu & Jalsan 1990).

(23) Eastern Yugur
    buda ende-ɣər   yawə-ya
    we   here-DIR go-IMP1
    'Let's go along here.' (Junast 1981: 24)

In its second function as a marginal case ending, it takes the shape -u:r/-ü:r, whereby the front vocalic form surprisingly also tends to appear on back vocalic stems. The connective consonant -G- does not appear in this function. E.g. ġadü:r 'to(wards) the rock' from ġada (absorbing the final stem vowel), qusun-ü:r 'to(wards) the water'. Sentence (25) parallels the illative meaning in Dongxiang example (13) above. Example (27) demonstrates that -U:r (here seemingly attached twice) can be combined with possessives, which supports its status as a case ending.[7]

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7 The forms turuirü:r and unuirü:r are derived from oblique stems of the demonstratives tere
   'that' and ene 'this'.

(24) Eastern Yugur

šra   ġadi:n   ġɔl-ü:r   neɣe čaǧa:n məsgətə   ǰalu:n
yellow rock.GEN river-DIR one white   with.clothes youth
yawə-ǰla-nan
walk-PROG-PRS
'A youth clad in white is walking towards Yellow Rock River.' (Bolčulu &
Jalsan 1990: 177)

(25) Eastern Yugur

naŋxu:r   gə-ǰ   ǧɔr
thermos.bottle.DIR pour-CV throw
'Pour [it] into the thermos bottle.' (Bolčulu & Jalsan 1990: 177)

(26) Eastern Yugur

ma:ŋġəs kogšən   nag   χad-u:r šurǧu-ǧa: ġar-a:
ogress   old.woman forest gap-DIR penetrate-CV exit-CV
'The old ogress squeezed through the gaps between the trees and (…)'
(Bolčulu & Jalsan 1988: 157)

(27) Eastern Yugur

neɣen-i:nə   tʉrʉir-ü:r-nə   dʉɣʉirʉl-le:, neɣen-i:nə
one-ACC.POS3 that.side-DIR-POS3 roll-CV   one-ACC.POS3
ʉnʉir-ü:r-nə   dʉɣʉirʉl-le:
this.side-DIR-POS3 roll-CV
[about a girl rolling millstones from a mountain top] '(…) rolling one of
them down that side of her, and the other down this side of her (…)'
(Bolčulu & Jalsan 1990: 177)

3   Alternative Etymology

Returning to Dongxiang *-ǧuŋ*, there is an alternative phonetically acceptable
etymology, which involves another suffix that was presumed extinct.

There are a number of petrified forms in the other Shirongol languages that
are reminiscent of the Dongxiang ending. They seem to be formed by adding
a suffix *-GUn* to spatial roots, as in Kangjia *degʉn* 'upside', *duǧun* 'underside',
ǰuǧun 'space between'. The latter is also found lexicalized in *anla ǰuǧun* 'crotch'
and *siǰiǧun* 'armpit' (with first elements *ala*, *su(g)u*). Kangjia *degʉn* has equiv-
alents in Dahejia Baoan *deguŋ* 'not only … but also', Ganhetan Baoan *dɛgoŋ*
'upside', Mangghuer *dieǧoŋ* 'on', and Mongghul *de:xɔŋ* 'surface' (see Nugteren

2011: 380). Kangjia *juǧun* 'space between' has an equivalent in Baoan *ʒoǧoŋ* (see below). Baoan and Kangjia examples are limited to these few words,[8] which are used as adverbs or postpositions, as shown below.

(28) Kangjia
    šire   duǧun   mauyi i
    table underside cat   COP.EV
    'Under the table there is a cat.' (Sečenčogt 107)

(29) Kangjia
    šire-ni   degʉn bʉde halǧu
    table-GEN top   NEG step
    'Don't step on (top of) the table.' (Sečenčogt 107)

(30) Datong Baoan
    ćoġ   ʒoǧoŋ   ma:r-ć
    sheaf space.between hide-PST.EV
    '[He] hid amongst the sheaves.' (Chén 1986: 187)

Although the Mongghul suffix *-xɔŋ* occurs more widely, it also seems to be limited to spatial stems, demonstratives and interrogatives. It tends to describe approximate location. The suffix seems to be unproductive, and its products are listed in the vocabularies. Examples from Khasbaatar (1985) include *nde:xɔŋ*, *tənde:xɔŋ*, *anʒi:xɔŋ* from the words 'here', 'there' and 'where'. There is an extended form *-xɔŋge*, which is more frequent. Examples include *ġada-xɔŋge* from **gada-* 'outside', *furə-xɔŋge* from *huruu 'down', *do:ro-xɔŋge* from *doara 'underside', *ʒo:ro-xɔŋge* from *ʒaura 'space between', *muśi-xɔŋge* from *emüneg-si 'forward', *ʒiġa:-xɔŋge* from *ʒaka 'top < collar', *xulo-xɔŋge* from *kola 'far', *ta:da-xɔŋge* from *ta:da* 'near', *ndere:-xɔŋge* from *ende 'here' + Mongghul locative. *-xɔŋge* is attached to spatial roots, spatial roots with additional suffixes, and adverbs and adjectives with spatial (and temporal) meanings.

    Čenggeltei presents *-xɔŋ* as the ending of the 'range' (范围 *fànwéi*) case, apparently an approximate locative. It is unclear whether it can be used on the common noun.[9]

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8 The suffix may also be present in Kangjia *yun* 'this side', *tun* 'that side' (Sečenčogt 306, 298), unless these forms are the result of metanalysis of **eün-* and **teün-*, the oblique stems of the demonstratives *ene 'this' and *tere 'that'. Kotwicz (291) thinks the obliques may in fact contain the suffix *-GUn*.

9 The examples with common nouns in Čenggeltei (1988: 170) involve the suffixes *-lɔŋ* and *-dɔŋ*,

(31) Mongghul
   nde:xɔŋ   manta
   here-DIR dig
   'Dig around here.' (Čenggeltei 1988: 170)

(32) Mongghul
   ći   anʑi:-xɔŋ-sa   kuduna: xar-guni:?
   You where-DIR-ABL house.DAT-REFPOS return-FUT.COP
   'Which way ('via where') will you return home?' (Čenggeltei 1988: 170)

The fact that Mongghul forms in *-xɔŋ* can take case suffixes provides further
confirmation that they are spatial noun stems rather than inflected forms.

   As de Smedt & Mostaert (1945: 59) tentatively suggest, the Mongghul *prola-
tive* suffix *-xɔŋ* is likely related to the Middle Mongol suffix *-Un*, Preclassical
Mongol *-ɣun/-gün*. It is found on demonstrative and interrogative roots, and
several other spatial roots and stems. Middle Mongol examples include *dege'ün*
'above' and *ǰaqa'un* 'space between' in the *Secret History*. For convenient lists of
examples for this suffix see Buck 1955: 64–65, Kotwicz 1953: 290–291, and Ligeti
1971: 146–147.

   In his magnum opus, de Rachewiltz calls these formations 'adverbs', but they
often function as postpositions, and in the translations they may be reflected by
substantive nouns or attributes. Poppe, in a letter to Buck, calls the formations
in *-Un* adverbs, adding "I believe it was used mainly in the function of a lative
(direction)".

   I will quote here some of the Middle Mongolian examples also given by Buck
and Ligeti, while taking account of the translations by de Rachewiltz. It would
seem that most examples feature the postpositional function of *-Un*, but there
are also sentences in which they are used as adverbs (not connected to another
noun), or as attributes.

(33) Middle Mongol
   müren-ü   čina'un möseldü-tkün
   river-GEN beyond be.discouraged-OPT
   'Beyond the rivers you will lose courage.' (Secret History §199)

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which in his view are variants of *-χɔŋ*, but are hard to explain etymologically. The origin
of Mangghuer *-qar* given by Čenggeltei as the equivalent of Mongghul *-χɔŋ* is also hard to
determine.

(34) Middle Mongol
    ordo-yin   qoyina'un urida'un kebte'ül   muquri-tuqai
    palace-GEN behind   in.front nightguard patrol-OPT
    'The nightguards shall patrol the rear and front of the palace (tent).'
    (Secret History § 278)

(35) Middle Mongol
    kebte'ül-ün   dege'ün yabu-qu-n   ǰaqa'un   yabu-qu-n
    nightguard-GEN upside walk-PFUT-PL space.between walk-PFUT-PL
    haran-i   kebte'ül   bari-tuqai
    people-ACC nightguard take-OPT
    'The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk beyond or between the
    nightguards' (Secret History § 278)

(36) Preclassical Mongol
    ɣadaɣun öndür batu   qoton bariɣul-ǰu
    outside high   strong wall   have.built-CV
    'He ordered a high and strong wall built outside' (Poppe, Twelve Deeds
    11r)

The loss of the forms in -(*G*)*Un* in the Mongolic 'mainstream' may mainly be
due to the lack of a specific function that could not be performed by other
derivations. This can be illustrated by means of two parallel passages from
Preclassical documents quoted by Rybatzki.

(37) Preclassical Mongol
    ǰaqaɣun-a   bü-kü-n   ǰam-ud-un   ötegü-s
    space.between-DAT be-PFUT-PL postal.station-PL-GEN elder-PL
    ǰaɣura   bü-kü-n   ǰam-ud-un   ötögü-s
    space.between be-PFUT-PL postal.station-PL-GEN elder-PL
    'die Leiter der auf der Zwischenstrecke liegenden Poststationen' (Rybat-
    zki 2006: 33)

Objections that can be raised against the relatedness of the Middle Mongol -*Un*
and the Shirongol suffixes are of a phonetic nature. The loss of vowel harmonic
variants is expected in Mongghul. The voiceless -*χ*/*x*- cannot be explained.

    The most obvious problem, however, is the fact that Middle Mongol suggests
that the *g*/*ɣ* in the Preclassical spelling was not pronounced, whereas the
Shirongol forms suggest that it was. This touches upon a general problem of
written Mongolian spelling, which does not distinguish between the actual

consonants *g/ɣ* in intervocalic position, and their function as a *Hiatustilger* in writing long vowels and diphthongs. In most instances, the Secret History and other Middle Mongol texts are helpful in determining whether a *g/ɣ* in Written Mongol spelling was really pronounced.[10] However, in this case there is a discrepancy between the Secret History and the modern Shirongol forms.

One solution would be that the *-G-* arose relatively late as a secondary 'buffer consonant' (connective consonant) between stem and suffix. There are parallel cases in Central Mongolic and Eastern Yugur, such as the reflexive possessive suffix *-(G)AA* and the instrumental case ending *-(G)AAr,* neither of which originally contained *-G-*.

Alternatively, we may assume an erroneous transcription from Preclassical Written Mongol into Chinese characters. In that case, the original form of the suffix was truly *-GUn*. The shape of *dege'ün* 'upside' in the Secret History is unexpected in view of cognate words *de'ere* 'above', *de'egši* 'upward', *de'eǰile-* 'to respect'. It would be understandable if the rare and obsolescent suffix *-Un* in Preclassical Mongol *degegün* was misunderstood and incorrectly transcribed, resulting in a Middle Mongol transcription *dege'ün* rather than **de'egün,* i.e. with the pronounced *g* and the merely orthographical *g* exchanged. If this idea is correct, the actual shape of the suffix was *-GUn* with pronounced *g/ɣ* (or perhaps even *k/q*).

Lest this solution sounds completely *ad hoc*, it has to be remembered that even common words may appear in a mistranscribed form in the Secret History. Superfluous *g/ɣ/k/q* is seen in *de'el ~ degel* 'garment', *ne'e- ~ nege-* 'to open', *göre'esün ~ göregesün* 'wild game', *bö'ere ~ bököre* 'loins', *boro'an ~ boro'on ~ boroqan* 'snow storm', *büle'ei ~ bülegei* 'was'. The absence of expected *g/ɣ/k/q* is a rarer occurrence, as in the names *Idu'ut* 'Ïdukkut', *Ui'ut ~ Uiɣut* 'Uygurs', and perhaps *Ča'adai* 'Čaghatay'.

On the other hand, the Secret History has several other formations with *-Un*, including *dota'un* 'inside', *ɣada'un* 'inside', *urida'un* 'front', *qoyina'un* 'behind', which are systematically written without *g/ɣ*.

In Dagur, in the Northeastern corner of the Mongolic world, we encounter another likely cognate of *-(G)Un* that is found on spatial and temporal, demonstrative and interrogative roots. They are functionally, and in part formally, parallel to the forms in *-Un* found in Middle Mongol. They are used as adverbs and postpositions and can take possessive suffixes.

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10   Cognates in modern languages such as Khalkha also play a role, but may themselves have been influenced by the old spelling.

The following table lists the examples from Enkhbat (1988: 267–268, 270).

əmələːn	əmələːwəːn	by the front	*emü.ne-(g)ün
xʷainoːn	xʷainoːɣoːn	by the back	*koi.na-(g)un
xʷaiɣoːn		by the back	*koi-(g)un[11]
dəːwəːn		over, above	*dee-(g)ün
dʷaroːn ~ doroːn	dʷaroːɣoːn	underneath	*doo.ra-(g)un
dotoːn	dwatoːɣoːn	inside	*dota-(g)un
dʷatəroːn		inside	*dota.ra-(g)un
gaːdoːn	gaːdoːɣoːn	outside	*gada-(g)un
bəːdəːwəːn		outside	stem unknown
bəːwəːn		outside	stem unknown
dʷannoːn	dʷannoːɣoːn	through the centre	*dunda-(g)un
ordoːn		before	*uri.da-(g)un
xaːɣoːn ~ xaiɣoːn		by what side	*kaa-(g)un
tərəːwəːn		by that side	*tere-(g)ün
təiwəːn ~ tiːwəːn		by that side	*te.i-gün[12]
əiwəːn		by this side	*e.i-gün

Some of the Dagur forms directly correspond to documented Middle Mongol forms, such as *gaːdoːn* 'outside' < *gadaun*. The forms in *-(ɣ)oːn* are regular developments of the suffix *-Un* contracting with the final vowel of the root. Other forms end in *-(w)əːn*, the front vocalic counterpart, such as *əmələːn* 'front', which apparently represents *emüneün*, perhaps from an intermediate form *əmələöːn*.[13] The Dagur forms do not prove that a *-g-* was present, as *ɣ ~ w ~ ∅* variation is quite common in Dagur words that contain an original *-g-* or *-b-*. It is unclear how the extended form *-oːɣoːn (-oːwoːn)* or *-əːwəːn* should be explained, but it seems unlikely that the short forms developed from them secondarily, as Enkhbat suggests.

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11   This form has a direct equivalent in *qoyiɣun* in the Altan Tobči.

12   The *i* in *təiwəːn* and *əiwəːn* may be due *təin* 'like that', *əin* 'like this'. What inspired the *i* in *xaiɣoːn* is unclear.

13   Original Mongolic *ö* developed into *u* or *ə* in modern Dagur. Historical long *öö* is often represented in Dagur stems by *wəː*. *AA* in productive suffixes stands for *aː/əː/oː*; the front rounded variant does not exist and is replaced by *əː*.

Examples for the usage of *-ɣo:n/-wə:n* in Dagur are presented in (38–41).

(38) Dagur
    ta: xa:-ɣo:n   ir-sən-ta:?
    you.PL where-DIR come-PP-2PL
    'Which way ('via where') did you come?' (Enkhbat 1988: 295)

(39) Dagur
    əiwə:n   gar-a:r yau-sən
    this.DIR exit-CV go-PP
    'S/he went out (via) here' (Enkhbat 1988: 290)

(40) Dagur
    dʷann-o:ɣo:n-inʸ   čaklo:-ɣa: talʸ
    middle-DIR-POS3 break-CV put
    'Break it along the middle (of it)' (Enkhbat 1988: 268)

(41) Dagur
    gəri: də:wə:n   tu:tyʸe: dərd-əǰ-a-bəi
    house-GEN upside.DIR pigeon fly-CV-AUX-PRS
    'A pigeon is flying over the house.' (Enkhbat 1988: 268)

Closing Remarks

Although it cannot be excluded on phonetic grounds that the Dongxiang case ending *-ǧuŋ* developed from the suffix *-GUr* found in Central Mongolic languages and Eastern Yugur, it seems more likely that it is a direct cognate of Mongghul *-xɔŋ* and similar-looking petrified forms in Baoan and Kangjia, suggesting an original form *-GUn*.[14] Semantically, Dongxiang *-ǧuŋ* and Mongghul *-xɔŋ* both have the functions of a prosecutive and a general locative/directive. Dongxiang *-ǧuŋ* furthermore seems to be related to similar endings on spatial nouns in Dagur and Middle Mongol.

    The development of *-GUn* can be summarized as follows:

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14   Whether *-GUUr* itself arose as an extension of *-GUn*, as proposed by Poppe, remains unclear.

Dongxiang	Marginal case ending
Baoan, Kangjia	Occurs only in some petrified forms (on spatial stems)
Mongghul	Creates adverbs or nouns (used as secondary postposition) from a closed category of stems
Dagur	Creates adverbs or nouns (used as secondary postposition) from a closed category of stems
Middle Mongol	Creates adverbs or nouns (used as secondary postposition) from a closed category of stems

Glosses

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AUX	Auxiliary
COP	Copula
COND	Conditional (converb)
CV	Converb (not further specified here except COND)
CVR	Converter suffix (creates nominative stems from inflected case forms)
DAT	Dative(-Locative)
DIR	Directive
EV	Evidential
EXCL	Exclusive
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INCL	Inclusive
NEG	Negation
OPT	Optative
PERF	Perfective
PFUT	Future participle
PL	Plural
POS	Possessive
PP	Perfect participle
PROG	Progressive
PRS	Present
PST	Past
PTCL	Particle
Q	Question particle
REFPOS	Reflexive possessive (referring back to subject)

Nonstandard Symbols

č ǰ š ž	palato-alveolars (IPA [ʧʰ ʧ ʃ ʒ])
c ʒ	apicals (IPA [tsʰ ts])
ć ź́ ś ź	alveo-palatals (IPA [tɕʰ tɕ ɕ z])
ҫ ʒ̣ ʂ ẓ	retroflexes (IPA [tʂʰ tʂ ʂ ʐ])
ġ	weak uvular plosive (IPA [ɢ])
ğ	voiced uvular fricative (IPA [ʁ])
x́	'ich-laut' (IPA [ç])

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Sino-Mongolica in the Qırġız Epic Poem *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* by Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu

*Daniel Prior**

Oylop körgün, qalayıq,
kim jüröt ušu jalġanġa

Try to imagine, people,
the [others] who inhabit this world![1]

∴

There are well-known thematic differences between the oral epics of Mongolian peoples and those of Qıpčaq Turks of the steppes to their west. Mongolian epic heroes are devoid of ethnopolitical context; they fight monstrous and magical foes, and they always win, often through supernatural means with the aid of their wise, talking steeds (Bawden 1980: 276; Heissig 1988; Hatto 1993). Steppe Turkic heroes fight foes who are human and who at least reflect historical opponents, albeit in strongly refracted and diffuse ways (Zhirmunskii 1974). Save for certain clear markers of identity and some epic exaggeration, steppe Turkic heroes and their adversaries live lives that are essentially equivalent to one another and grounded in reality; their horses seldom speak.[2]

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1 Saġımbay 2010: 1592b, lines 13287 f.
2 Specifically with regard to contrastive issues of Qırġız and Mongolian epics, see Hatto 1997. On Mongols appearing in Qırġız epics, see Hatto 1989. More generally on the Qırġız epic tradition, see Hatto 1980.

Among Central Asian Turkic pastoralist peoples, the Qırġız (Kirghiz, Kyrgyz) and Qazaqs (Kazakhs) have lived in close proximity to western Mongolian peoples, where conflicts date back to the seventeenth century. The Muslim steppe Turks, particularly the Qırġız, have epic traditions that center on problems of difference across a realistic if somewhat caricatured ethnic and religious divide. In Qırġız epic since the earliest records in the mid-nineteenth century, the category of heathendom had been dominated by the (actually Buddhist, but never named as such) western Mongols. These were called (as in all Turkic languages of Central Asia) Qalmaq, though sometimes with more accuracy they are referred to as Oyrot (i.e., Oirat). Paired and often conflated with these foes were the so-called Qıtay (Chinese) heroes. Arthur Hatto coined a fitting label for the fundamental ethnic complex of Qırġız epic heathendom, "Sino-Kalmak" (1977; 1990a).

This was the situation in the mid-nineteenth century, an era of the tradition that has been extensively studied on the basis of reliable editions of epics that were composed in performance by mostly anonymous, non-literate bards (Hatto 1977, 1990a). With this foundation of historical study of the epic tradition, researchers can ask how the earliest epic recordings of the Soviet era differed from those of a half-century earlier. Did the newer epics reflect any changes in the way the Qırġız viewed themselves and their neighbors? Until recently it has been difficult to establish a solid factual basis of research on Soviet-era Qırġız epics due to the heavy hand of ideology in the editing and publishing of texts (Prior 2000). The first purportedly complete edition of the earliest recorded Qırġız epic of the Soviet era, the version of *Manas* composed and performed by the bard Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu in the 1920s, appeared in 2010, and provides the beginning of a basis for research. This paper reviews the features of Qırġız epic heathendom as found in the text of one episode of Saġımbay's enormously long *Manas* epic cycle. *Kökötöydün ašı* 'Kökötöy's Memorial Feast' (or 'The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan') is a well-known poem that is popular in the bardic repertoire even today.[3] It was the only *Manas* poem recorded in two different versions in the mid-nineteenth century, and

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3 Saġımbay 2010 is a single, 1,839-page volume containing approximately 163,000 poetic lines in Cyrillic Qırġız. The book is the first ostensibly complete publication of the text of Saġımbay's performed *Manas*, which had been written down in performance sessions over the course of 1922–1926 but published only in abridged and censored form during the Soviet era. Saġımbay 2010 contains no notes, line numbering, or other scholarly appliances. Although not a scholarly edition, at the time of its publication it constituted the best, most complete witness to Saġımbay's seminal *Manas* narrative. Subsequently see Saġımbay 2014. On the history of struggles and delays in the publication of Qırġız epics, see Prior 2000, 2002.

it is one of Saġımbay's most highly-developed episodes. (The term "episode" can be rather misleading, as Saġımbay's version of the poem consists of more than 13,000 poetic lines.) The present study surveys some of the main points of Saġımbay's views on epic heathens, particularly the ones identifiable as Mongolian and Chinese. By examining how Saġımbay viewed the epic "other" in contrast to the epic "we," we may perceive deeper aspects of the complicated group-concept of the Qırġız, of which Saġımbay was a respected custodian and, in the context of his times, a theoretician. Conversely, a Mongolist today peering through bigotry and distortion at the rich ethnic tapestry created by this inquisitive, intelligent and somewhat literate Muslim Turkic poet of the early twentieth century, may find certain looking-glass truths about the epic Sino-Qalmaq strangely illuminating.

Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu (Sagymbai Orozbakov, 1867–1930) grew to maturity as a bard during the Tsarist colonial period in Kirgizia, and was the first of two great bards who brought the epic *Manas* to wide notice in the early Soviet era. From a young age Saġımbay learned the art of performing *Manas* from a number of major nineteenth-century bards whose epics were not recorded, and he gained a facile ability to expand on them. He was famous as an oral poet of outstanding talent in a wide repertoire of genres. In the aftermath of the 1916 anti-Tsarist rebellions in Central Asia, Saġımbay was one of many Qırġız who were forced to flee bloody military reprisals and seek safety across the Chinese border; he remained a refugee in Sinkiang for about a year before returning to the Tien Shan. The oral performances that yielded the manuscripts of his *Manas* text were organized by Qayum Miftaqov, a Bashkir folklorist with Jadid training (the late-Tsarist era "new" method of Islamic education) in collaboration with the bard and a small group of Qırġız scribes using Arabic script. The sessions took place at different times over the years 1922 to 1926 in various places around northern Kirgizia, often under difficult circumstances (Musaev 1995; Sarypbekov 1995: 2.108, 165–172; Prior 2002: 174, 189–193, 229–244). Saġımbay was known to be able to read Arabic letters, but questions of the degree of his literacy and which languages he may have known remain unanswered. The abundant internal evidence of his *Manas* poems shows that he was curious and conversant if not highly knowledgeable about a range of ideas and intellectual currents from Central Asia and beyond. This suggests that he was at least familiar with the learned talk of his place and times, and that he probably was able to read fairly widely on his own. His epics are pervaded by his profound Islamic piety, a rich world-view that nevertheless forced Soviet-era scholars to approach publishing and analyzing his *Manas* with great reticence and caution. Beyond matters of what sort of intellectual influences may be found in his *Manas*, it is important to recognize the ways in

which Saġımbay was himself an influential figure in the tradition. Two ways in which Saġımbay was a ground-breaking *Manas*-bard were his conscious attempt at literary structure and his ethno-national stance. Over the course of many tens of thousands of lines of poetry, Saġımbay persistently pursued arcs of cause and effect that unified the biography of the great hero Manas and essentially equated it with the fate of the Qırġız people. Thus Saġımbay was a poet who reflected developments in Qırġız cultural history from the 1860s to the 1920s. Comparison of his *Manas* to the mid-nineteenth century texts shows not just change over time but also creativity embedded in historical context. Saġımbay preserved fundamentals of the traditional narratives that had come down from the centuries of Junghar-era conflicts and the turbulent decades of the first half of the nineteenth century, but he also exemplified the culture of his times. He displayed greater literacy, a developing taste for exotica within the Russian system of imperial knowledge, and an increasingly articulate opposition to the oppression of the poor and weak by the rich and powerful. Despite his bitter antipathy towards the heathen Sino-Qalmaq, we will see below that Saġımbay also expressed ideas about the underlying unity and kinship of Turkic and Mongolian peoples. He also attempted to "map" the old heroic adversaries of epic times onto what he understood about the current geopolitical space in the 1920s, and in so doing conceived the fates of modern peoples as reflections of their epic past. Perhaps, in the end, Saġımbay felt that the old distinctions and grievances were irrelevant in the face of the new world order.

Kökötöy's Memorial Feast presents particularly rich material for examining the Qırġız' epic "others," because it is a story about the planning and execution of a feast and games that all Muslims and heathens are invited—indeed commanded—to attend. Saġımbay's version of the epic may be summarized briefly as follows:

> Kökötöy, the fabulously wealthy Qırġız khan of Tašken, gives instructions in his deathbed testament for his burial and memorial feast. His orphan son Boqmurun, arriving home after his death, interprets the reported testament as calling for lavish observances. He holds burial and fortieth-day solemnities with minor feasts, then instructs his people to let the herds increase through careful management. After three years he decides on the location of the great memorial feast, the plain of Qarqıra on the border between Muslim and infidel lands, moves all his people and herds there, and sends out invitations to all the heroes of the world to bring their race-horses and their people to the feast and games, with dire threats in case of non-attendance. The whole world assembles. The paramount

Qırġız hero Manas and his elder kinsman Qošoy act as co-presidents of the feast. Jealousies and rivalries soon break out between the Muslims and their infidel counterparts, headed by Qoŋurbay of the Qıtay and Joloy of the Qalmaq, which are only barely kept channeled in a busy program of sporting contests, including shooting, wrestling, jousting, and the climactic horse race. Heavy interferences in the finish of the race result in Qoŋurbay leading a raid that seizes the top prize-herds, which had been won by the Muslims' racers. The Muslims' punitive attack on the squabbling Sino-Qalmaqs recovers all of the booty and leaves the infidels utterly defeated.

SAĠIMBAY 2010: 1444–1595[4]

Such a scenario is merely epic exaggeration of the well-known custom for large, generous memorial feasts among Qırġız and Qazaq notables in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though such real feasts are not known to have included non-Muslims besides a few Russian guests and observers, they were frequently the cause of feuding and ill-will over honor, precedence and the distribution of largesse. Kökötöy's feast was proverbial among the Qırġız as a root of discord: *Kökötöydün ašı eken, köp čataqtın bašı eken* 'Kökötöy's memorial feast—that was the start of many scandals' (Iudakhin 1965: 83). The contemporary Qırġız and Qazaqs felt that their memorial feasts in reality were too often the scenes of altercations and scandals, despite the shame such incidents brought to the memory of the deceased. In *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, Saġımbay draws the connection between epic and real brawling in an aside to his audience:

Azırqı aštın ayaġı čır;
aŋdap körgün, qalayıq:
ataŋdan qalġan jumušqa!

Memorial feasts today end in rows, but just remember, people—that whole business was handed down from your forefathers!

2010: 1591a, lines 13150 ff.; cf. SUBKHANBERDINA 1994: 140 ff., 330 ff., 711–715; RADLOV 1989: 314–319

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4   The author of these lines chooses to refer to Qırġız epic bards by their given names; in accordance with this practice, Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu is the only author listed in the Bibliography under his given name.

The spectacular variety of peoples on display is part of the enduring appeal of the epic, which has inspired generations of bards to virtuosic exertions in enumerating and describing the peoples of the world according to the epic tastes of their times. In the nineteenth-century texts of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, "we" are Noġoy (Noghay), a conceit the Qırġız borrowed long before from their steppe neighbors the Qazaqs (Saġımbay's *Manas* epics from the 1920s are the earliest in which "our" heroes are identified as Qırġız; see Hatto 1977: 90; Hatto 1980: 312 ff.; Prior 2000: 15). The adversaries of the Noġoy and all their Muslim allies were mainly the Qalmaqs, by which Central Asian Turks understood the western Oirat Mongols who had historically made up the forces of the Junghar Empire; in the epics these were often allied with and subordinate to the Qıtay, 'Chinese'.[5] The expansion of the Junghar Empire westward into the Dasht-i Qipchaq and repeated attacks at Qazaq and Qırġız expense over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had provided the historical kernel of animosity and endless competition, if not much in the way of narrative incident, from which the Qazaqs and Qırġız developed their nineteenth-century epics. In depicting close alliance and parity between the Qıtay and the Qalmaqs, the nineteenth-century Qırġız correctly perceived the general picture of ethnic ties after the destruction and virtual extermination of the Junghars by the Ch'ing in 1758–1759, though they imagined for their neighbors and adversaries the Qalmaqs a higher status than they actually possessed with respect to 'Qıtay' power.

Since the nineteenth century the explicit concerns of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* have transcended mere ethnic difference and occupied the plane of— for lack of a sharper term—ethno-religious geopolitics.[6] Kökötöy Khan of the Noġoy has died and left a young, untested orphan son, Boqmurun 'Snot-nose', whose minority puts the Muslims in a precarious position in the face of looming Sino-Qalmaq power (there is an overt historical echo of the mid-nineteenth

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5 The two versions of the epic that predate Saġımbay's text are *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan* (Hatto 1977), recorded in 1856 by Chokan Valikhanov from the bard Nazar Bolot, consisting of 3,251 lines; and *Boqmurun* (Hatto 1990a: 159–225), recorded in 1862 by Wilhelm Radloff from an anonymous bard, consisting of 2,197 lines. (See also Hatto 1969; Prior 2002: 60 ff., 122–139.) Other mid-nineteenth century Manas-poems that deal in-depth with problems arising along and across the ethno-religious frontier between the Noġoy and the Sino-Qalmaqs are *Almambet, Er Kökčö and Aq-erkeč; How Almambet Came to Manas* (Hatto 1990a: 13–71; Prior 2002: 97–122) and *Köz Qaman* (Hatto 1990a: 227–303; Prior 2002: 80–96), both recorded in 1862.

6 The unfortunate term is mine, but see Hatto 1969, 1990b on the subject.

century Qırġız chiefs' predicament with respect to the Ch'ing). Boqmurun's motivation in planning his father's memorial feast and games over the objections of his regent (and, seemingly, the last behest of the khan) is the wish to rid himself of his boyhood nickname and acquire a hero-name befitting the wise organizer of a major migration and the strong president of a peaceful meeting of age-old foes. The gibbering heathens are untrustworthy and have disgusting and barbarous habits (Hatto 1990b: 77); yet they are heroes, and they are to be taken seriously: "Though they are Qıtays they are a mighty nation [*jurt*], a multitude of scoundrels teeming like black worms. Though they are Qalmaqs they are a nation with a khan, abundant as black worms" (Saġımbay 2010: 1583a, lines 12414–12418). Qırġız audiences knew well and expected that their fierce super-hero, Manas, would not be able to hold his temper around such unseemly company. It is implacable Manas's ascendancy to the presidency of the feast that ensures the climax of the epic, as the touchy pride of Muslim and heathen heroes embroiled in the questionable results of the horse-race explodes into a bloody battle between armies. In the nineteenth-century texts, Boqmurun is forgotten midway through the epic, and Manas leads the Noġoy to victory over the Sino-Qalmaqs.

Saġımbay, narrating in the 1920s, carried on a mostly traditional view of epic heathendom while elaborating the inherited material of the nineteenth century to fit the inflated dimensions of his epic. His concept of western heathendom (Christendom) is more detailed and extensive than that of his predecessors, as befits an age when the Russian Empire had exerted sovereignty and control over the Qırġız. But for Saġımbay the center of gravity in the heathen world still lies on the side of the Sino-Qalmaqs, and he often shows a generous and creative interest in their epic world. His evident ethnological awareness widened his view of the nineteenth-century Sino-Qalmaqs, who had a rather sketchy background, to encompass a Sino-Mongol ethnopolitical entity that reflected his awareness of historical connections between Qalmaqs and Mongols and more broadly between Turks and Mongols. As a basis, Saġımbay had his inherited word-stock of heroes' names, their pedigrees, their headquarters, and traces of his nineteenth-century forerunners' rich store of epithets for them. The following catalogue is a brief sample illustrating the mix of old and new in Saġımbay's *Manas*. Infidel heroes and their identifying markers attested in the mid-nineteenth century epics are set in italics. For the rest, Saġımbay is our earliest witness in the tradition, and he may have been personally responsible for inserting many of them into the *Manas* cycle from various sources:

> *Qoŋurbay of the Qıtay*, Muradil son of Qırmuz, red-topknotted *Nezqara*, black-maned Booronču, *Oroŋġu* from the Qaŋġay, *Sayqal* the daughter

of Qatqalaŋ—let's mention each one!—*Alooke* of the *Soloŋ, Joloy* bad-tempered as a wild boar, Bozkertik son of Toqšuker, and Soorondük son of Solobo.

2010: 1534a, lines 8054–8064[7]

Echoes of these names point to interchange among Inner Asian traditions in the centuries preceding the earliest epic recordings. For example, Manas's chief heathen rival Qoŋur(bay) has a name etymologically identical to (Buumin Ulan) Xoŋġor, the chief comrade of the Oirat epic hero Jaŋġar.[8] The slippage over time that made Xoŋġor of the Oirat appear in Turkic epic tradition as Qoŋurbay of the Qıtay is illustrative of the level of generalization found in Saġımbay's concept of the Sino-Qalmaq sphere. Nevertheless, on various specific points the poet and his tradition had interesting things to say.

The appearance, speech, religion and comportment of these outsiders had long fascinated Qırġız bards and audiences. In the hands of a skillful poet like Saġımbay, a finely-observed detail of heathen coiffure could become a crucial yet understated focus in the narrative. At the feast games, when Manas meets his nemesis the Qıtay khan Qoŋurbay in the joust, Manas aims the lance-thrust that unhorses Qoŋurbay by sighting a lock of hair that dangles loose below the edge of his opponent's helmet. The poet weaves into this scene an implicit disparagement of the infidels' longer hairstyle; a properly shorn Muslim warrior would not provide such an eye-catching clue to an opening in his armor and thus a target for his enemy's lance-point (Saġımbay 2010: 1571b, lines 11377–11392). The abundant narrow braids of a Qıtay woman warrior's hairstyle aroused Muslim displeasure: "That Tuŋša Qıtay, Oroŋgu—one doesn't like to dwell on her! [...] Oroŋgu was waddling about with the tresses at the back of her head sticking out [like] seventy mouse [tails]" (1534a,

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7   Source citations to passages in the *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* of Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu are given in two forms. The page numbers (a and b for left and right columns) are those printed in Saġımbay 2010. Following the page numbers are line numbers within the single sequence (1–13482) assigned and marked by me on a working copy of Saġımbay 2010 (see the bibliography). The English prose translations are my own, and may reflect rearrangements of line ordering and minor emendations. The transcribed Qırġız text of some passages has been omitted to save space.

8   V.M. Zhirmunskii attributes the similarity in the names of Qoŋurbay and Buumin Ulan Xoŋġor not to borrowing but to common continuation of the name of a historical personage of the sixteenth century, Khan Noyon Khongor of the Khoshut; Zhirmunskii also suggests a historical antecedent of Alooke based on Kazakh and Qırġız legends about the Qalmaqs (1961: 149 f.).

lines 8065–8071). The peculiar customs and accoutrements of the Sino-Qalmaq were notable markers of difference. The "Mongol" saddle with its broad, high front bow (Qırǧız: *aq qaŋqı eer*) was often the saddle of choice for Muslim heroes, perhaps owing to the additional protection it gave to a jouster's vitals. But the protection had limits. Saǧımbay's poetry preserves evidence of warriors' general preference for "Mongol" saddles, as well as a couplet that resembles a proverbial reminder for one aiming his lance at a rider mounted in such a saddle:

> "Qalmaq eer qašı"—dep,
> "qaq jüröktün bašı"—dep
>
> Thinking, "The arch of a Qalmaq saddle [rises] just to the apex of his heart"
>> 2010: 1570b, lines 11300 f.

The infidels' defining sins were their flouting of prohibitions on diet and drink. Saǧımbay shows his facility for humorous narrative inversion by emphasizing that pork and distilled spirits were on the menu when heathen heroes finally returned home from the feast thrown by Muslims (1584b, lines 12554–12558). The grudgingly respectful epithet of Joloy, *doŋuz qıyal* '[bad-]tempered as a wild boar' (e.g. 1534a, line 8062) and the liberally-applied insult *doŋuz* 'swine' (e.g. 1566a, line 10878) were specifically infidel in connotation. Since the nineteenth century, Almambet, the close companion of Manas who was born an Oyrot prince and converted to Islam, was seen cunningly deploying "cultural" traits of heathendom in his staunch defense of the true faith, and displaying distinct *savoir faire* with heathen paraphernalia. Pipe-smoking was recognized as a heathen vice;[9] in *Köz Qaman*, one of the mid-nineteenth century epics that deals most explicitly with the Muslim–infidel divide, Almambet easily disguises himself as a heathen in order to spy on the enemy, and once apprehended narrowly escapes capture by creating a smoke screen with a pipe to cover his escape (Hatto 1990a: 286 f., lines 1969–1977). Saǧımbay's epics are the earliest in which Almambet's heathen heritage is seen in his ability—and his alone—to perform weather magic using the *jay taš* or rain-stone (2010: 1522a, lines 6962–6979; cf. Molnár 1994).

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9   Good men of the Faith took their tobacco in the form of snuff (Hatto 1977: 213; Saǧımbay 2010: 1537b, lines 8353–8356; 1565a, lines 10805–10812).

Qırġız epic bards and audiences knew that being infidel (*qapır*, << Arabic *kāfir*) meant more than a set of miscellaneous traits of the kinds reviewed above. They were firmly conscious of the fact that the heathens' strangeness and perversity arose from their alienation from the religion (*din*) of Islam and the community of Muslims. Saġımbay inherited his tradition's profound concerns with religion and religious difference, and filled his epic narratives with his own deep religious faith, curiosity and learning. The nineteenth-century bards disparaged the damnable heathen religion; Saġımbay did as well, but he also cross-examined it, and found it theologically abhorrent though also rather fascinating. Qoŋurbay "prayed to his idols" (2010: 1564a, line 10700). Joloy is *qara dinder balbanı* 'the champion of the followers of the black cult' (1554a, line 9855). His prayer at the outset of the main wrestling match shows the perversity the Qırġız saw in a false religion:

> Qayra basıp Joloy döö,
> Qalmaqča namaz oqunup,
> qarq altın süröt butu bar,
> burqanına čoqunup,
> qayra basıp qalġanı.

> Joloy the giant withdrew uttering prayers in Qalmaq. He had an image of pure gold; he worshiped his idol and returned [to the ring].[10]
>   2010: 1554b, lines 9869–9873

Nothing Saġımbay says in his *Manas* suggests he had any awareness that the religion of the Qalmaqs was called Buddhism, or what its tenets were. Joloy's supporters also pray for him:

> Qalmaq, Qıtay, Tarsa, Jööt,
> qarap turġan qanča köp
> öz dininče oqunup,
> kün čıġıšqa bet alıp,
> "Kökö Teŋir qoldo!"—dep,
> batasın qıldı čoqunup.

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10 The Qırġız verb *čoqun-* means both 'to cross oneself; be baptized' and 'to worship a [pagan] deity]'.

> A great many of the Qalmaq, Qıtay, Tarsa and Jööt were standing around watching him [Joloy] and supplicating, according to their religion. Facing to the east they prayed, "Heavenly god, help us!" and made their obeisances.
>
> 1537a–b, lines 8343–8348

Even though only one form of prayer is described, the Qalmaq, Qıtay, Tarsa and Jööt peoples that Saġımbay lists were religiously disparate. *Jööt* (< Arabic *Yahūd*) is 'Jew'. The name *Tarsa* occurs throughout Saġımbay's *Manas*. The term had been in disuse since the disappearance of "Tarsa" communities in the Mongol era (the word is from Persian, where it had been applied to East Syriac ["Nestorian"] Christians and more broadly to non-Muslims). However, it had been recently recirculated by Orientalists in studies of medieval sources. The term's absence from native Central Asian discourse over much of the preceding five centuries raises the distinct possibility that Saġımbay learned the term indirectly via discussions taking place among Central Asians about recent works of international Orientalist scholarship.[11]

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11   Scholarly notices in existence by the time of the Saġımbay *Manas* sessions in the 1920s include an extensive note on *Tarsa* by N. Elias (1895: 290 f., n. 1). The text passage in question, concerning Christian Naimans, was translated from Juvaynī, whose *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāī* on the Mongol conquests had not yet been published (see Boyle 1958: 1.64). The Arabic geography *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, containing a reference to Tarsa inhabitants of the Čüy valley (present-day Kyrgyzstan), was also available to researchers at the time (Le Strange 1919: 249 f.). Today the term *Tarsa* firmly connects medieval East Syriac Christianity with the Čüy valley through the place Tarsakent, identified with a settlement and cemetery site of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (and possibly earlier) near the modern village of Qara-jıġač on the southeast outskirts of the city of Biškek, Kyrgyzstan; the cemetery has yielded great numbers of Christian grave stones with Syro-Turkic epitaphs (Kozhemiako 1959: 161 f.; Dzhumagulov 1987: 38 ff.). The name *Tarsakent* eluded Bartol'd's notice in the report on his 1893–1894 Central Asian research trip, due to his misreading of Rashīd al-Dīn (Bartol'd 1966: 55; see Rashid 1960: 16); thus the term *Tarsakent* was apparently not known to scholarship in the 1920s. The *kraeved* (local historian) and archaeologist N.N. Pantusov in the 1880s had questioned local residents of Qara-jıġač and found "that they had heard nothing about the [grave] stones and know of no legends connected with them"; thus it is not likely that there was any awareness of the terms *Tarsa* and *Tarsakent* among nineteenth-century Qırġız (Dzhumagulov 1987: 39). In light of these circumstances, it is interesting to note that Saġımbay knew and frequently used the name Tarsa for a people (e.g. Saġımbay 2010: 623a, 667a, 808b, 875b), but nowhere mentioned Tarsakent. His ultimate source for *Tarsa* was probably recent western scholarship. (Cf. Doerfer 1963–1967: 2.474 f.)

In the view of Qırġız epic bards and audiences, non-Muslims were virtually devoid of religious distinctions. If Saġımbay had any awareness of the "People of the Book" with respect to Islam, his handling of Jewish and Christian peoples gives little indication of it; this was even more true of his nineteenth-century bardic predecessors. Nevertheless, Saġımbay occasionally groups the Tarsa and Jööt in quasi-distinction to Qalmaqs and others. One way he suggests their special status is in his accounts of which peoples were invited to the successive gatherings that led up to the great memorial feast for Kökötöy. At the burial obsequies only Muslims are present; at the fortieth-day feast, Muslims, Tarsa and Jööt attend, but "no one from the Oyrot of the red top-knots or from the Qıtay" (Saġımbay 2010: 1477b, line 3032; 1478a, lines 3053 f.); the climactic great feast includes everyone in the world. Thus Saġımbay progressively widened the ethno-religious circle at each event, and placed the Jööt and Tarsa in a position of intermediate religious proximity or familiarity with the Muslims. At the same time, the inclusion of the Jööt and Tarsa emphasizes the Oyrots' and Qıtays' remoteness from the Muslims. In a later description of the peoples in attendance at the great feast, a religiously-defined spectrum of traditions, doctrines and manners is clearly apparent:

> Jööt, Tarsa, Qalča bar,
> jön jürgön jurt qanča bar;
> Arap, Ajam, Atalat
> ataqtuu jönün bildiŋiz;
> Ïndı menen Saqalat—
> bayqaġanġa qalayıq
> baarı jurttun sözdörü
> bayġambarġa taqalat.
> Orus, Nemis bu da bar,
> Qıtay, Qalmaq juda bar.

> The Jööt and the Tarsa and the Qalča were there—innumerable well-behaved peoples. Arap, Ajam, Atalat—you know their illustrious origins. The Ïndı and the Saqalat—to those that pay attention [to such matters], all of [those] peoples have stories going back to a prophet. Then there were the Orus and the Nemis, and the innumerable Qıtays and Qalmaqs.[12]
>   1580b, lines 12181–12190

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[12] Though several of these ethnonyms offer transparent English glosses, we cannot be assured that Saġımbay understood the terms in exactly the way we do. *Qalča* 'Pamiri',

Clearly Saġımbay was communicating with an audience for whom the "simpler times" of easily-recognized heathen neighbors (the Sino-Qalmaq) had recently been swept away. The Qırġız were now subjugated within the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Russian Empire. Interestingly, the epic world-view of Saġımbay, who grew up in the new colonial order, took on an aspect of reversibility that may be likened to cultural relativism. In his ambitious attempts to dramatize the lives of the Sino-Qalmaqs from the inside, Saġımbay found a way to use the term *qapır* 'infidel' flexibly. *Qapır* heroes may refer to their own as "the people called *qapır*" in relation to the Muslims; in a fit of pique, Qoŋurbay even calls his co-religionists *qapır* in a scolding tone: "Heathens, why do you think a Türk is going to unhorse a Qıtay?"; or heathens may invert the term and call the Muslims *qapır* in relation to themselves (2010: 1562b, line 10574; 1563a, line 10615; 1561b, line 10496; 1561b, line 10495). One of Saġımbay's most ambitious narrative turns comes when he has Joloy voice the frustrations of a non-Muslim in enduring Muslim contempt (2010: 1592a–b, lines 13236–13254).

The nineteenth-century Qırġız epic bards showed off knowledge of a few words of Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu origin, while characterizing infidel speech as 'gibbering, mumbling, lisping' and the like (Hatto 1990a: 76 f., 442, line 33). Saġımbay knew traditional words for the unclear sounds heard from Mongol mouths, *jabuu/jabı* and *möndü*,[13] and used his understanding of a few definite terms to create dramatic effects. When the gluttonous Qalmaq Joloy goes down to the hearths looking for a hand-out of meat from the pit-boys,

> Qalmaġınča qaldırap,
> "Bıštıbı—dep—maqanıŋ?"
> baladan surayt baldırap.
> Qalmaqtın tilin bile albay,
> qaradı bala jaldırap.

probably connoting religious difference from Sunnism; *Arap* 'Arab'; *Ajam* << Arabic *ʿajam* 'non-Arab; Persian'; *Atalat* < ?; *İndı* 'Indian, Hindu'; a proposed etymology of *Saqalat* involves Latin *Sclavus* 'Slav; slave', cf. Osmanlı *saqlāb* (Akmataliev 2015: 1165 f.; Redhouse 1890: 1064); *Orus*, a common Qıpčaq Turkic name for 'Russian'; *Nemis* 'German' (< Russian *nemets*).

13   E.g. Saġımbay 2010: 1518b, lines 6680, 6692; cf. Hatto 1977: 36 f., lines 1291–1294; Hatto 1990a: 282 f., lines 1882–1886.

> Jabbering in his incomprehensible Qalmaq language, Joloy asked the lad,
> "Is your *maqan* done?" The boy, unable to understand Qalmaq, looked at
> him inquiringly.
>
>   2010: 1509, lines 5868–5872

Clearly Saġımbay had heard the Kalmyk word *maxn* 'meat', perhaps in situations similar to the one depicted. He also understood some Chinese: "The Qıtays [started] collaring the Qalmaqs and yelling 'Taa! Taa!'—when they say 'Taa' it means 'Strike'" (1585b, lines 12635–12638). Iudakhin's Qırġız dictionary registers *taa* '(in epic) strike! (in the voice of a Chinese person giving the order for corporal punishment)'.[14] Saġımbay's familiarity with this Chinese term is not difficult to explain given that he spent time as a refugee in Sinkiang after the 1916 uprising, an experience that lends poignant authenticity to the narrator's aside in the passage. Saġımbay's interest in heathen language also led him to repeat a number of oaths in Kalmyk, explicating the meanings of which may give Mongolists some exercise and amusement.[15] Like other Qırġız bards, Saġımbay knew the common Chinese, Manchu and Kalmyk word for 'Qırġız', *Burut*, and used it to good effect in speeches by Qalmaq and Qıtay heroes (e.g., 1523a, line 7070); Saġımbay was the first bard to use the Chinese borrowing *Čantuu* to mean 'Muslim' as well.[16]

One important class of Mongolian and Chinese vocabulary items adapted into Qırġız epic usage were titles of military ranks and political offices, which bards and audiences reimagined to fit their own notions of Sino-Qalmaq affairs. The insignia of Ch'ing ranks were well-known: "the Qalmaqs and Qıtay with their top-knots red as blazing fire"; "the teeming Oyrot with their red top-knots and the faithless Qıtay have a great many formidable leaders" (Saġımbay 2010: 1459a, lines 1371 f.; 1454a, lines 930 ff.). The *čoq* (Hatto: 'rank-button'), finials

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14   *taa* and *tatala-* 'to shout *taa*!' (Iudakhin 1965: 684, 713); cf. Chinese *ta*³ 打 'fight, beat, … shoot'.

15   Curses: "*Ütügüŋö šooday!*" (Saġımbay 2010: 1510a, line 5892; 1579b, line 12104); "*Aminiŋe danim!*" (1510a, line 1510a, line 5894); "*aminine*" (1575b, line 1147); "*Apsap šooday!*" (1575b, line 1147); cry of alarm: "*Jabiniyin jaġı!*" (1507b, line 5688).

16   E.g. Saġımbay 2010: 1574a, lines 11597 f. *Alaqanday čantuuġa/ aldırsaq arbaq urbaybı?* 'Would we not be damnable [wretches] if we let these insignificant Čantuu win the race?' Saġımbay used *Čantuu* (< Chinese *ch'an²t'ou²* 纏頭, lit. 'turban-head') in the mouths of Sino-Qalmaq heroes to mean their Muslim adversaries in general, but this sense was broader than the more recent signification of the term in China, which excludes nomads. Saġımbay presumably encountered the term during his sojourn in China after 1916. On *Burut* see Hatto 1990a: 498 f.

worn atop the holders' caps, signified Ch'ing ranks by colors; red was for first rank. The Qırġız epic bards' references to these insignia do not imply that they thought in any consistent way about how the heroes so adorned fit into the system of Ch'ing rule. Sino-Qalmaq power was for the Qırġız remote and fairly mysterious, and the rank-buttons were simply the most recognizable of its trappings. Nor were titles used in an informed manner. For the mid-nineteenth century, when there were still political relations in effect between the Ch'ing and certain Qırġız chiefs, some of whom possessed rank-buttons, Hatto concluded that "the Kirgiz bards were not entirely clear in their minds as to the correct use of administrative and military titles in force on the Chinese Western Frontier c. 1860" (1977: 179). Saġımbay had even less grasp of the terminology he had inherited, though he used it with zest. If nothing else he created an exotic atmosphere with references to *jaysaŋ*s and *qalday*s (see Hatto 1977: 179). In the latter case the signified rank of general or wing commander sounds puny when Saġımbay applies it to the Qıtays' khan and greatest hero, Qoŋurbay: "That great evil-tempered *qalday* Qoŋurbay of Beejin, that great *qalday* cursed of his ancestors, Qoŋurbay of many-quartered Beejin …" (2010: 1516a, lines 6457–6460). Formulaic diction in the epic tradition seems to have been involved in the characterization of Qoŋurbay as a *qalday*. Since the nineteenth century there was a scene where the heathen guests at the feast make a jealous demand that their leader be given Boqmurun's prized steed Maaniker as a gift of honor, and they couch the demand in a run of descriptive formulae that includes the alliterating lines:

> karıpčısın baylanıp
> kalday miner at egen

> Here is a horse fit to be ridden by a Kalday with his armband tied on
>   HATTO 1977: 40 f., lines 1444 f.

> kaldırayın salınıp,
> kalday minär mal ekän

> This is a beast fit to ride for a Kalday that slings on his mailshirt
>   HATTO 1990a: 184 f., lines 780 f.

In Saġımbay's version the lines were:

> qarıpčısın baylanıp,
> Qara-šaar aylanıp,
> qaldaylar miner at eken

a horse that *qalday*s should ride having strapped on arm-guards and rounded Qara-šaar

2010: 1512a, lines 6097 ff.; 1513a, lines 6193 ff.

Once the infidels have arrogantly demanded the illustrious horse, Qošoy relays their claim to Manas. It is in Saġımbay's version of Qošoy's speech that we hear a reference to Qoŋurbay, the one demanding Maaniker, as a *qalday*, in an evident echo of the heathens' earlier comments about the proper rider of such a horse. Thus the workings of oral formulaic composition created an opening for the too-lowly rank *qalday* to be applied to the lofty Qoŋurbay (1516a, lines 6457–6460).

In another instance of interest to linguists, Saġımbay referred to a specific landscape feature with a phrase that contains a Mongolian lexical item not found in Kalmyk dictionaries. The phrase, since its Western Mongolian element could not be easily understood in Qırġız, is in effect a set toponym, one which is not otherwise attested outside Saġımbay's single usage. In discussions on where to hold Kökötöy's memorial feast, the many attractions of the proposed Qarqıra plain were said to include:

Ar taraptan sandalıp,
aqqan bulaq suusu bar.
Keŋ Qarqıra ataġı,
sirkedey šakel čıqpaġan
qaynatıp alma tuzu bar.

Everywhere you roam there are lively springs. The name of the place is Qarqıra, the Broad; they boil salt there, free of the slightest sediment traces, from brine that comes out of a crack in the earth.

SAĠIMBAY 2010: 1485b, lines 3714–3718

The phrase in question is *alma tuz*, which a partial Western Mongolian etymology 'fissure-salt' can rescue from a literal but nonsensical Qırġız interpretation as 'apple-salt'. Qarqıra (also, Qarqara) was a well-pastured valley east of Issyk Kul, in a middle ground frequented by Qırġız and Qazaqs who nomadized to the west and Qalmaqs to the east. The well-known salinae were attractive to all, and encouraged cross-border meetings; the area became a fairground in the late nineteenth century. The placement of the epic memorial feast at Qarqıra reflects this history. In the nineteenth-century epics and contemporary historical sources, the salt spring was known by the place-name Qaynatma-tuz 'syrup-salt', i.e. boiled down from concentrated brine. When I visited the

spring in 1994 I found strong brine welling up from a fissure in the earth (Hatto 1977: 10 f., lines 285 ff.; 124 f.; Hatto 1990a: 168 ff., lines 223 ff.; Valikhanov 1961: 246; Prior 1998: 257). In the phrase *alma tuz*, the second element is unproblematically Qırġız *tuz* 'salt'; *alma* 'apple', however, makes less sense than a Western Mongolian word *alma (*alm in the modern Cyrillic orthography; not entered in Ramstedt 1935 or Muniev 1977), which would correspond phonologically to the Khalkha *alm-a* 'hole, crevice, or crack in the earth' registered by Lessing (1960: 32). Once Qırġız and Qazaqs overheard the Mongolian word *alma* 'fissure', cross-linguistic chiming between the similar-sounding words for 'fissure' and 'apple' would produce a memorable term in Qırġız for the salt obtained from that spring, and hence a quasi-toponym.[17]

The intertwining of Muslim (historically Qazaq/Qırġız) with heathen (historically Ch'ing/Oirat) interests at the traditional epic feast-venue, Qarqıra, was a feature in the mid-nineteenth century versions of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* that crucially reflected the context of recent political circumstances. In 1856, incidentally a few days before he made the first recording of the epic, the Russian army officer Chokan Valikhanov noted reports of Qırġız chiefs in the border area to the effect that 30 years prior the salinae had been controlled by Kalmyks. These were in fact Oirat auxiliaries stationed there by the Ch'ing to control the border vacated by the destruction of Junghar power; the groupings nearest to Qarqıra were the "Zurgan-suun" and "Argun-suun" according to Valikhanov. The tribal names correspond to Kalmyk *Arwṇ-sumṇ ölȫᴅ* and *Zuryān-sumṇ dörwᵒᴅ*, and these groupings indeed appear in the 1856 text of the epic as *Arġın-sumun* and *Zurġun-sumun* under the command of the Qalmaq khan Joloy. Boqmurun announces that he will stop at Qaynatma-tuz and load on salt for the feast, but not before he will don Qalmaq attire (including the historically Ch'ing peacock-feather badge), mingle with Joloy and the Qalmaqs at the marsh Botonun-saz, and entertain them magnanimously—obviously the necessary chiefly price of taking the salt. The bard of Radloff's 1862 recording of the epic put Boqmurun's actions succinctly: "I shall […] go along the Karkara and camp! Then, fraternizing with the Kalday, I shall boil salt."[18] In Saġımbay's thinking, Boqmurun had no need to ingratiate himself with Joloy or a Qalmaq *qalday*. In this bard's version of the epic, the valley of Qarqıra lay unoccupied

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17   It is not clear whether Kalmyk *alm(a)* 'murderous, lethal' could offer a similarly plausible semantic scenario to recommend it (Muniev 1977: 36).

18   Valikhanov 1961: 246; Ramstedt 1935: 337; Hatto 1977: 10 f., lines 285–309; 72 f., lines 2672–2675; Hatto 1990a: 168 f., lines 223 ff. See also Hatto's thorough analysis of the historical and philological problems of the ethnonyms *Arġın-sumun* and *Zurġun-sumun* in the text, 1977: 221 f.

on the border of the Sino-Qalmaq sphere. Qarqıra thus recommended itself as a meeting place, but for Saġımbay no grandee was in control there.[19] The half-century the Qırġız had spent within the firm borders of the Russian Empire may have contributed to the apparent withdrawal of Qırġız epic imagination away from the important nexus of Qarqıra.

The issue of who was in control at Qarqıra is one that relates the subject of the present inquiry with broader historical analyses of the Qırġız epic tradition. The plots of the mid-nineteenth century versions of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* were fundamentally concerned with the question of how the young Boqmu-run would achieve heroic status. His claims to advancement were supposed to be his successes in management of the migration and diplomacy with the Qal-maqs in whose territory he planned to hold the feast (a bold and risky political maneuver intended to weaken Sino-Qalmaq power over him). This underlying plot was not expressed directly in the recorded epics. Instead, the figure of the super-hero Manas, whose importance was rising steeply in the early nineteenth century, obtruded into the story of Boqmurun. Bards and audiences kept the epic going, but in form it had been taken over by Manas in a process of cycliza-tion (Hatto 1969: 1.347 f.; Prior 2002: 123 ff.). Thus already by the mid-nineteenth century the political underpinnings of Boqmurun's dealings with the Qalmaqs at Qarqıra were technically archaic; unsurprisingly, when the epic was next recorded in the 1920s there was almost no trace of the diplomatic dimension surrounding access to the salinae and feasting-ground. The reason that Saġım-bay did not mention any *qalday* in control of Qarqıra was that the complicated concerns of diplomacy with the Qalmaqs had been forgotten, and with them a part of the motivation of the plot. The place persisted in traditional memory only as a feasting-ground and source of salt located reasonably near the Sino-Qalmaq heathens who were to be invited. (Conversely, one can see from this process of erosion that bards were loath to assign a new owner or occupant to a known locale. This reflects positively on the overall strength of "tradi-tion" in the oral epic tradition.) In Saġımbay's version of the epic, then, Qarqıra survived as a fossil of the earlier, living border. Only traces of the complex situ-ation on the ground a century before survived fitfully in Saġımbay's telling; for example, the numerous *Arġın-subun* people are mentioned in an extended epi-thet of Joloy (2010: 1508b, line 5779). Nevertheless, Saġımbay's concerns with

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19 Both nineteenth-century bards chose to locate the feasting-grounds in places other than the Qarqıra of tradition. The fact that Qarqıra was the traditional feast venue in the mid-nineteenth century (in epics that have not come down to us) is evident from an allusion in another epic from 1869; see Hatto 1976: 245 f.; Prior 1998: 257 ff.

ethno-religious geopolitics were profound and critical, and the remainder of this paper will address them.

The geography in Saġımbay's *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* centers on the feasting ground at Qarqıra, but the poem in general has a larger "map" than any other single constituent epic of the *Manas* cycle, stretching from Baraŋ (Farang, Latin Christendom hazily conceived) to a place in the east called Japan (2010: 1494a, lines 4512, 4546). Both places and a plethora of other known and unknown toponyms were probably introduced into the epic by Saġımbay, a more fanciful and fulsome narrator than the mid-nineteenth century bards. The basic geography of Saġımbay's epics, however, resembles that of his predecessors.[20] In both of the poem's main settings, Kökötöy's seat at Tašken (Tashkent) and the plain at Qarqıra, the Sino-Qalmaqs cast a long shadow. Qarqıra, as has already been mentioned, was situated in the borderland. Tašken, far to the west inside Muslim Central Asia, had been ruled formerly, according to Saġımbay's epics, by the Qalmaq Panus Khan, vassal of the great Esen Khan of Beejin, until Kökötöy and Manas in concert deposed him. This epic circumstance echoes the historical memory of the Qırġız and Qazaqs. In the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century the Junghars raided and dominated the Central Asian steppes as far west as Tashkent, Sayram and Turkestan, as well as the Tien Shan mountains and Ferghana valley; Qazaq khans and Qırġız chiefs only regained firm control after 1758, though neither group was responsible for the final defeat of the Junghars (Saġımbay 2010: 1444b–1445a; Bregel 2003: 56–61).[21] Kökötöy's taking of the throne at Tašken from the Qalmaq Panus Khan was one of many episodes in a constant succession of struggles and victories over the course of Saġımbay's lengthy *Manas* narrative, the general trend of which was that Manas and his allies flung the Sino-Qalmaqs back eastward again and again in a drawn-out *reconquista* of Central Asian lands. The climax of Saġımbay's *Manas* is the *Great Campaign*, which extends the hostilities deep inside Qıtay territory and ends with Manas and his combined forces gaining victory over the emperor Esen Khan. The major victory that set the scene for the Great Campaign was in the finale of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, when the Muslims invaded the Sino-Qalmaqs, routed them, and retrieved the stolen prize-herds.

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20   On Qırġız epic geography in the mid-nineteenth century see Hatto 1992; Prior 1998.

21   It should be recalled that Saġımbay's identification of "our" heroes as Qırġız was an innovation; in the mid-nineteenth century, Manas, Kökötöy and others had been identified ethnically or genealogically as Noġoy (Noghay), an illustrious line of steppe heroes that Qırġız bards appropriated from Kazakh epic models in earlier generations of which we have no records.

For Saġımbay, the great prize for the (incipiently nationalist) Qırġız invasion of China was easy to name, if not to locate precisely: Beejin. Hatto, in his index of the geographical names found in the epics recorded by Radloff in the 1860s, says that *Bejin* "can scarcely stand for 'Peking', but rather stands symbolically for the Sino-Kalmak region" (1990: 616), a statement that must be understood as representing the view of the mid-nineteenth century Qırġız epic bards and audiences, in contrast to informed moderns who will read too much into the term. Though it is reasonable to assume some connection with Peking, the term *Be(e)jin* is not so easy to account for in Qırġız epic. Nowhere in the mid-nineteenth century texts is there any indication that the place was understood to be the capital city in far distant northeast China; it is mentioned seldom, as an approximate synonym of Qıtay. As Hatto correctly perceived, the term meant a homeland of the infidels that was located not too far from the Qırġız. By the 1920s, the more worldly Saġımbay sometimes located Beejin in a distant Chinese heartland, but he also multiplied it into several different Beejins. In an early episode of the cycle he enumerates the following: "Orto ['Middle'] Beejin and Čet Beejin ['on-the-Marches'] are as populous as any [city] in the world, they say, and the one called Tüp ['Inner'] Beejin is the biggest of them all" (2010: 329a).[22] Saġımbay referred to Beejin as a city in an epithet of the Qıtay khan Qoŋurbay, as his capital, which the poet pairs with a familiar Mongolian title of Ch'ing local power: "That great tormenting *qalday* Qoŋurbay of Beejin, that great damnable *qalday* Qoŋurbay of many-quartered Beejin" (1565b, lines 10846–10849). The climactic punitive raid on the Sino-Qalmaqs in the conclusion of *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* was one context where Saġımbay was content to name Beejin in the general sense: "'It's not far now to the populous land [*el*] of the Qalmaqs,' they reckoned.—'We will enter it tomorrow, and be on the border of Beejin.'—'To the north is the land of the Zubun Qalmaqs, the unsuspecting wretches!'" (1585b, lines 12657–12663).

The unclear signification of *Beejin* in Saġımbay's *Manas* mirrors the bard's inconsistency in identifying who ruled there. Another epithet of Qoŋurbay's is, "ruler [*uluq*] of the Qıtay from the Tuŋša Beejin tribe [*uruq*]; his ancestor was Paŋ" (Saġımbay 2010: 1569a, lines 11185 ff.). In different passages, both Qoŋurbay and Esen Khan are said to rule at Beejin, yet Saġımbay does not take advantage

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22   The *Manas Encyclopedia* lists seven: Tüp Beejin, Čoŋ 'Great' Beejin, Orto Beejin, Kiči 'Little' Beejin, Čet Beejin, and Nur Beejin 'by-the-Lake(?)' (Sarypbekov 1995: 1.163).

      Qaqan and Čın are other traditional names of cities that Saġımbay uses in relation to China. He also refers to Qıtay as the Manju realm, and mentions the Solon and Šibe peoples, known historically as formations of Manchu troops in Sinkiang.

of his own innovative multiplication of Beejins to distinguish which khan sat in which city.[23] In any case, to Saġımbay, Čoŋ—Čet—Orto—Tüp—etc. Beejin were little more than a set of geographic signposts. The home pastures associated with the Turkic heroes—their centers of power and seats of rule—were formulaic attributes often solidified in their epithets. Examples include Er Kökčö of the Qazaqs "who summers in the Sarı-arqa steppe"; Baġıš of the Jediger "who makes his home along the [Amu] Darya"; Ürbü of the Qıpčaqs "who summers at Eki Kemin" (1459a, lines 1361–1366; 1473b, 2651–2657; 1500b, lines 5059–5062).[24] This model of locating heroes' headquarters was so closely tied to formulaic diction that it could not serve Saġımbay in his innovative project of filling in details of the Sino-Qalmaq world. Here is a sort of parallel to the effects of the rethinking of the frontier around Qarqıra that was discussed above. When the theme of diplomacy with frontier Qalmaqs was forgotten and Qarqıra became just a place, no hero was inserted to have his headquarters there; when Beejin was remodeled from a general region into a city (or several cities), the update came without clear, consistent assignment of a ruler (or rulers).

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Qırġız epics have treated the divide between Muslim and infidel as implicit and not entirely exclusive; the line was occasionally transcended, as when the Oyrot prince Almambet converted and joined the Muslims, and when Manas's own Noġoy kinsmen the Köz Qamans "went bad" residing in Qalmaq lands (Hatto 1990a: 13–71, 227–303). In *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, Saġımbay further pondered the nature of the old divide. He saw it as a problem with a history that also held keys to a possible resolution: for him the Qırġız and the Qalmaqs were originally kin, and the Qalmaqs' unified front with the Qıtays was crumbling. These narrative circumstances were new or at least newly salient in Saġımbay's *Manas* in the 1920s, and seem to reflect his

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23   Qoŋurbay: Saġımbay 2010: 1496a, lines 4672 ff. (where his father Alooke is also mentioned as being there); 1513b, lines 6239, 6242; 1515a, line 6460; Esen Khan: 1445a, lines 86 ff. Qoŋurbay's Beejin is often *anjı* 'having many quarters'.

  Esen Khan < Kalmyk *ezŋ xān* 'monarch, (Chinese) emperor', Khalkha *ezen xayan*. The expected Qırġız form of a borrowing from the Mongolian etyma would be *Ejen*, and this is attested in the mid-nineteenth century along with *Esen* (Hatto 1977: 40 f., lines 1449, 1480; Hatto 1990: 184 f., line 785). The *Esen* form may be partially derived from memories of khans' names, including the fifteenth-century Oirat Esen Taiji (see Zhirmunksii 1961: 149; Hatto 1977: 180).

24   Interestingly, non-ruling heroes of the Qıtay could be identified with a specific one of the Beejins, such as Soorondük at Čoŋ Beejin and Šandöögör from the land or people (*jurt*) of Tüp Beejin (1455a, lines 1015 f.; 1572b, lines 11466 ff.).

awareness not only of contemporary knowledge about history and ethnology, but also of new geopolitical realities that had thrown the established ethno-religious map of Inner Asia into doubt and turned age-old actors into pawns of larger forces.

The infidels' debacle begins when Qoŋurbay calls on the Qıtays and Qalmaqs together to block Muslim horses from finishing the race, in a speech that heats up into an incitement to slaughter the Muslims entirely. In the ensuing parley among the heathens, two Qalmaq khans, Joloy and Ušaŋ (the latter a hero unattested in the nineteenth century) take opposing views of the plan. Where Joloy is ready to follow Qoŋurbay into battle, Ušaŋ voices reservations: the Qalmaqs, he says, will bear the brunt of battle in the Qıtay's pursuit of victory, and anyway the Qalmaqs are "sons of the Türks" like their adversaries, and fighting them would mean estrangement from the spirits of their ancestors (*arbaq;* Saġımbay 2010: 1575a–b, lines 11722–11731). The disagreement leads the Qalmaqs to split up and fight each other, and Ušaŋ's forces to fight with the Qıtays, just as the Muslims come on the attack. Joloy's own wife berates him for his disastrous political move. Her speech expresses sympathy with Islam, reveals the Qalmaqs' genealogical connection to the Muslims and the origin of their name, and makes an anti-imperial, pro-national argument that sounds quite modern:

> You are belittling Manas, but Manas is not a warrior to be taken lightly. [Those who] quarreled with the religion of truth and parted from their kin in the time of the prophet Musa remained [*qal-maq bolup*] in that state, and took the name Qalmaq; but you never leave off [*qal-baġan*] your quarreling! […] Where is Beejin, and where is [your] land [*jer*]? You place your hopes in the Qıtay, but where are they, and where is your country [*el*]?
>
>   1593a, lines 13298–13305, 13313 ff.

Joloy's wife concludes her speech with a comment on ethnic names that seems to show Saġımbay's awareness of outside scholarship:

> Qalmaq senın ataġıŋ,
> bašqı ataŋ Maŋġul bolso da,
> basılbadı čataġıŋ.
>
> You are called a Qalmaq; though your ancestor was Maŋġul, your quarrel-ing has never stopped!
>
>   1593a, lines 13329 ff.

Maŋgul, as if 'Mongol', an exotic ethnic term that occurs many times in Saġımbay's *Manas*, is a form quite uncommon for Qırġız and Central Asian Turki. Elsewhere the Muslims characterize their adversaries as "the damned Qalmaq, as those who were cut off from the Muslims are called, whose forefather was Maŋġul" (1539b, lines 8549 ff.); and the Qalmaqs are "sons of the Türks" (1575b, lines 11726–11730). The connections asserted in these passages between Qalmaq and a foreign-sounding Maŋġul, and between Qalmaq and Türk, underline the possibility that Saġımbay had indirect links to pan-Turkist ideas through the patron of his *Manas* performances, Qayum Miftaqov.

The idiom of kinship pervades Saġımbay's views on ethnic particularity. The Qalmaqs and Qırġız both consist of forty tribes (*uruu*); the ruling "Qara" Qıtay are called an *uruq* 'tribe' (1584b, line 12573; 1585b, line 12640).[25] In the climactic massacres that conclude the Muslim counter-raid in *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, the Muslim elders Qošoy and Baqay plead with the Muslims to show clemency to the Qalmaqs: "Stop, children! They are our kin, but they will have nothing to do with the language we speak, which has led to this accident"; " 'Do not take their lives!' Those old men had to pull [attackers off of victims] and separate them. 'They were our kinsmen originally!' they explained" (1591b, lines 13197 ff.; 1594b, lines 13437–13440). Joloy's defiant speech against the proposed alliance between Qalmaqs and Qırġız shows in clearest terms the equation of kinship and political formation in the thinking of an Inner Asian steppe pastoralist:

> "How could I call them [the Buruts] kindred [*tuuġan*]? […] It is the Qıtay who will be my kindred. We have mixed and loved, knotted our horses' lead-ropes together, grieved for our dead and delighted in our living; when one was stooped the other was a support. How am I supposed to depart from the Qıtay and desire the Qırġız? […] Once Khan Qoŋurbay has spoken, I lay down my life!" The others stood around agonizing. "[If our] first ancestor was Türk—" they puzzled, but for all their concentration they could not figure out what to do.
>
>   1575b, lines 11742–11746, 11751–11766

Though Joloy asks rhetorically, "How could I call the Buruts kindred?" no one has asked him explicitly to do that. What was proposed was to be at peace with

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25   The modifier *Qara* that Saġımbay sometimes uses before the names *Qalmaq* and *Qıtay* probably entered the epic diction by analogy with *Qara Qırġız*, itself a Tsarist-era Qırġız borrowing of a Russian term (*Karakirgiz*) to refer to themselves. *Qara* 'black' denoted the lack (or rejection) of a ruling nobility from the Chinggisid line or 'white bone' (Qazaq: *aq süyek*).

the Qırġız and thus to flout the Qıtay. In a telegraphic way which was perfectly well understood, Saġımbay (through Joloy) says that for the Qalmaqs to turn away from alliance or "kinship" with the Qıtay is tantamount to treating the opposing people (the Qırġız) in the opposite way, hence to recognize them as "kin." The potential for the political assertion of kinship was so strong that Joloy's impassioned speech confounds his audience, even though they are already aware of the common ancestor or lineage, Türk, which links them objectively (in the world of the epic) with the Qırġız.

By contrasting a deep genealogical unity of Türks and Qalmaqs with the impending rise of the Qırġız in the epic present, Saġımbay depicted a precarious status for Qıtay. Qoŋurbay's apprehensions about the potential of the Qırġız to rise up and turn the tables come out in a speech in which Saġımbay affords the Qıtay a degree of pathos that was rare for infidels in the nineteenth-century tradition. Regardless of the internecine differences among Qalmaqs and Qıtays, Qoŋurbay makes a well-reasoned case, in epic terms, for the extermination of the Qırġız:

> These Buruts who have long been under our sway are bringing us to grief
> [...] The servant has grown clever [and hence dangerous], and Türkü-
> stön[26] is a big country. The mountain-dwelling Qırġız are becoming equal
> to the whole Qıtay nation [*jurt*], and will one day surpass it; the Qıtays'
> kindled fire will one day be extinguished[27] [...] I fear, in the end, that the
> Qırġız of Türküstön will terrorize the world; I fear they will attack Tüp
> Beejin.
>
> 1574a–b, lines 11604 f., 11619–11625, 11631–11635

Qoŋurbay's geopolitical worries would naturally inspire the pride of a Qırġız epic audience imagining their ascent in the world. But Saġımbay tempers moments like the one above with unhappy musings on the Muslims' fate over a longer span of history. He has Qošoy speak of "olden times, when the heathens and Muslims were equals on the face of the earth," in implicit contrast to a notional now when Muslims have lost power and prestige (1543b, lines 8928 ff.). Saġımbay thus alludes to the present day in the early twentieth century, when Central Asia and the entire Muslim world found itself under western colonial control and poets took their inspiration to compose elegies on the present hard times. There was nothing like this point of view in the nineteenth-century

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26   Here is meant the land of the Turks in general, not the city on the Syr Darya.

27   On the metaphor of the extirpated lineage as an extinguished hearth fire, see Prior 2010.

epics. Those texts were all composed and recorded when the Qırġız chiefs still had at least theoretical ability to act independently of encroaching imperial powers; the one epic where a bard refers to Manas's submission to the Tsar takes an optimistic view of the relationship (Hatto 1990a: 73–157).

Saġımbay, a highly skilled oral epic poet with voluminous knowledge of his tradition and an innovative, even critical attitude, was demonstrably a more worldly observer of the ethno-religious geopolitics of his times than his nineteenth-century predecessors had been. His range of experience had extended beyond the Qırġız homeland, to Sinkiang, where his eyes were opened to the complexity of Chinese affairs. The status of Outer Mongolia between the Soviet Union and China was an issue of pressing regional concern that only in 1921 had been resolved in Bolshevik Russia's favor. In Saġımbay's *Manas*, we find Qıtay furnished with a new set of place-names (Čet Beejin, Orto Beejin, Tüp Beejin) evoking exteriority and interiority. The Qalmaqs between them and the Qırġız were, in the bard's eyes, up for grabs.

Qırġız epic bards' identification of the epic "we" with a Qırġız ethnic group became explicit over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Central Asian Turkic epic traditions came under increasing influence of imported, modern conceptions of ethno-national identity (Prior 2000; Prior 2013). Saġımbay's learning and literacy exposed him to pan-Turkist and pan-Islamist trends present in late Tsarist and early Bolshevik Central Asia. While Saġımbay was the first bard we know of to replace the old epic Noġoy with the Qırġız, a change that became permanent, in doing so he still conformed broadly to a traditional epic world-view that consisted of "us," Muslims with an at least tacit ethnolinguistic identity as Turks, and "them," jabbering heathens conceived as an alliance of peoples with predominantly Oirat and Chinese ethnolinguistic affiliation. In the epic *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast*, Saġımbay evoked differences as well as shared bonds across the ethno-religious divide between the Qırġız and their traditional antagonists. At times he seemed to ask, What is the point of all this conflict? But he was a master of his art, and so he did not need to *ask*. He could paint for us the mental image of all the people of the world gathered together and sitting down at a cloth rolled out under the open sky, sharing a picnic dinner: "The one dining-cloth made do to seat that great multitude of people." (1526b, lines 7409 f.)

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Badəkšaan

Elisabetta Ragagnin

Badəkšaan is a supernatural creature inhabiting northern Khövsgöl aimag's high taigas, according to Dukhans' believes. It is small in stature, not taller than a small child and, most importantly, blond and addicted to reindeer milk. Everyone knows about Badəkšaan, though the degree of knowledge may vary considerably. Very few people have, however, ever seen it. Among the other Taiga Sayan Turkic speaking groups, merely Tere-Khöl Tuvans know about Badəkšaan. I am very pleased to offer Professor György Kara some insights into this fascinating and enigmatic creature.

The Dukhan People and Language

The Dukhan people are a Turkic-speaking nomadic group inhabiting the northernmost regions of Mongolia's Khövsgöl region. This area borders on the northeast with Buryatia and on the west with the Tuvan Republic. Nowadays ethnic Dukhans number approximately 500 people and are divided into two main groups: those of the "West Taiga" (*barïïn dayga*) originate from Tere Khöl, whereas those of the "East Taiga" (*ǰüün dayga*) came from Toju; both regions are in Tuva.

Presently, around 32 Dukhan families are reindeer herders in the surrounding taiga areas, on the south slopes of the Sayan Mountains. Dukhans follow the so-called Sayan-type of reindeer breeding, characterized by small-size herds of reindeer used as pack and riding animal and as a source of milk products.[1] The rest of the Dukhan families have settled down in the village of Tsagaan Nuur and in neighbouring river areas, abandoning reindeer breeding. Some families, however, regularly rejoin the taiga in the summer months and tend to reindeer.

Dukhans identify themselves and their (unwritten) languages as *dukha* (*tuʰħa*), which is a phonetic variation of *tuva/tuba*, a designation common to various groups in the neighbouring areas; see Ragagnin (2011: 20, 58). His-

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1 On the Sayan-type of reindeer herding, see Vainshtein (1980). Besides, for more recent views of Sayan economies, see Donahoe & Plumley (2003).

torically, the name *dukha* most likely is related with the name *tuqa* which is documented in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§ 239) alongside with *tuba* and other forest people's names.[2] In Mongolia Dukhans are generally called *Tsaatan*, a rather derogatory term meaning 'those who have reindeer'. Recently the more neutral Mongolian term *tsaačin* 'reindeer herders' has been introduced. In the available published materials, Dukhans have been designated by several other names such as "Urianxay", "Taiga Urianxai", "Taigïn Irged" 'peoples of the taiga', "Oin Irged" 'peoples of the forest' and "Soiot" (Badamxatan 1962: 3). Dukhans do not call themselves Uyghur, as claimed in some publications (Ragagnin 2011: 20–21).

Linguistically, Dukhan[3] belongs to the Taiga subgroup of Sayan Turkic together with Tofan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area as well as Soyot of Buryatia.[4] Reindeer-breeding and hunting characterizes or characterized the lifestyle of these groups until not too long ago.[5]

Nowadays, Dukhan is actively spoken by the older generation, that is by speakers older than 40. Younger Dukhans communicate in Darkhat Mongolian,[6] although they possess passive knowledge of Dukhan.

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2   See Schönig (2006) for details on the forest people mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols* and their correspondences with South Siberian Turkic peoples.

3   Dukhan lexicon, besides exhibiting the common core of Turkic lexical elements that can be regarded as its basic lexical stock, includes a substantial amount of loans from Mongolic varieties. In addition to an older Mongolic layer, which is common to all Sayan varieties (cf. Khabtagaeva 2009), Dukhan has been subject to strong influence from Darkhat Mongolian and, in more recent times, modern Khalkha Mongolian. A limited amount of loanwords are of Samoyedic and Russian origin.

4   On the taiga vs. steppe division, though with slight differences from the view presented here, see Žukovskaja et al. (2002). Furthermore, on Soyot, see Rassadin (2006, 2010), on Tofan, Rassadin (a.o. 1971, 1978, 2005, 2014) and Harrison (2003), on Toju, Čadamba (1974), on Tere-Khöl Tuvan, Seren (2006), and on Dukhan, Ragagnin (2011). Also cf. the information supplied by Marco Polo's XIII century travelogue concerning reindeer herding nomads in the Bargu area (Ragagnin 2015).

5   The Mongolian government has recently issued hunting and fishing prescriptions. In order to balance the impact of these proscriptions, the Mongolian government has granted Dukhan families dwelling in the taiga and tending to reindeer a state pension calculated on the base of family numbers.

6   Darkhat people are supposed to be of Turkic origin. Their language and customs seem to have become Mongol in the past few centuries. On Darkhat, see, a.o., Sanžeev (1931), Žamcarano (1991) and Gáspár (2006). On Darkhat Mongolian's substrate Turkic features, see Ragagnin (2012).

Badəkšaan

Among Dukhan believes, the enigmatic figure of Badəkšaan surely holds an important position. According to my Dukhan older informants, Badəkšaan is a short-sized blond[7] creature roaming in the high taiga. In the night, it secretly drinks reindeer milk from the jar hanging on the poles of the Dukhan *alaǰï öɣ* 'tepee-like dwelling'. Before vanishing in the forest, it may paint a reindeer's tail and stomach with red colour or twist its horns. Sometimes it also puts a flowery collier around reindeer's neck.[8] One informant from the West Taiga also reported that his mother once saw Badəkšaan sitting on a rock and combing its blond long hair. Furthermore, Dukhan parents generally warn their small children not to play outside when it is dark because Badəkšaan may join them to play with and abduct them.

Similar information on Badəkšaan is reported in Simčit (2009: 150) with some additional details. According to Simčit's Tere-Khöl Tuvan informants, Badəkšaan has ruffled long hair (blond or grey) and is short in stature. It may take away small children who play with him. Sometimes it throws little stones to reindeer herders' dwelling places. Signs of its appearance include the disappearance of reindeer milk (that people keep in a birch bark container inside the tent). After drinking reindeer milk, Badəkšaan may leave flowers or grass in the empty birch bark container as a sign of benevolence or little stones as a negative sign. He may also embellish reindeer flanks with flowers or red ochre. He is, apparently, also very strong, since he is able to twist reindeer horns. In the winter Badəkšaan sleeps in a cave and from his nose flows snot that freezes because of the cold. Badəkšaan remains in that state till spring arrives. Hunters may run into him and if they ruin that kind of stalactite they may die. Simčit also draws attention to the possible relation between Badəkšaan and the so-called "small spring people" that ride on saddled rabbits, occurring in Tofan folklore.[9]

Badəkšaan shares some traits with European trolls and elves and moreover, it seems to me to have some clear connections to the spring, when reindeer milk starts to be available and flowers blossom, after the long cold and dark winter.

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7 For comments on the concept of "blond" and further references, see de Rachewiltz (2006: 264–265).

8 A comprehensive corpus on Badəkšaan, in Dukhan and Mongolian, will be included in Oyuunbadam & Ragagnin (forthcoming).

9 Apparently, however, the name Badəkšaan does not exist among the Tofans (Valentin Rassadin, personal communication).

Etymology

The etymology of the term Badəkšaan is a rather hard nut to crack. Simčit (2009) views as most likely etymological trajectory a derivation from Mongol *badag*, occurring in the echo-compound *badag-büdeg* 'vague, obscure'- widely occurring throughout Mongolic (Sanžeev et al. 2015: 65)—augmented by the Sayan Turkic denominal verbalizing suffix -*ŽX*-[10] and the past participle -*GAn*. This option surely is in accordance with Sayan Turkic phonotactical rules. However, dealing with such a straightforward and transparent formation, one may possibly expect the existence of at least *badak* if not *badakšї*- in Sayan Turkic, which is however not the case.[11] With regard to *badag*, it may represent a deverbal nominal formation from **bada*-. Related thereto may be the following verbal stems: *badara*- 'to spread, expand, develop; to blow open (of flowers); to flame, blaze, flare; to be[come] inspired, be carried away; to become clear, manifest, public; to clear up' (Lessing 1995: 66a); *badana*- (onom.) 'to babble, grumble' (Lessing 1995: 66a) and *badaira*- 'to become swollen, inflamed, or puffed up; to become warm or flushed from drinking' (Lessing 1995: 65b). Rather unlikely would be a connection with Mong. *badag* 'stanza, strophe; sentence; paragraph' [← Sanskrit *pādaka*] (Lessing 1995: 65b). Further on **bada*- (**bad-a*?), see Sanžeev et al. (2015: 64–65).[12] Worth considering, in this respect, are also the data provided by Mostaert's Ordos dictionary. Mostaert (2009: 41b) lists three meanings ascribed to the lexeme ʙaᴅaᴋ, namely 1) as a synonym of *buᴅek*, 2) meaning 'embarras, ennui' and 3) as an onomatopoeic term occurring in ʙaᴅaᴋ ʙaᴅaᴋ 'démarche vive et alert de personnes ou animaux de petite taille'. Especially the third meaning would well suit the small size and the alertness of this little taiga creature.

Other, however, less likely possibilities, proposed by Simčit (2009) would etymologically relate *Badəkšaan* to Mongolian *mata*- 'to curve or bent; to hollow out in a vault-shape' (Lessing 1995: 530a)—due to the fact that *Badəkšaan*

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10   This suffix is of Mongolic origin; see Khabtagaeva (2009: 289). It forms intransitive verbal stems expressing attainment of the quality or condition expressed by the nominal it is added to. It may be agglutinated both to originally Mongolic and Turkic nominal stems, eg. *aldarži*- 'to become famous' (cf. Mongol *aldarsi*- 'id') and *ekiži*- 'to improve' from Tuvan *eki* 'good' (cf. Old Turkic *eδgü* 'id.' [Clauson 1972: 51b]). For further examples, see Isxakov & Pal'mbax (1961: 266). For Middle Mongol -*si*- see Kempf (2013: 202–204).

11   Cognates of Mong. *badag-büdeg* are, however, documented in Yakut *badïa-büdüö ~ badï-büdü ~ badïkï-büdükü* 'polumrak', mutnyj, mračnyj, sumračnyj' (Pekarskij 1958: 334b).

12   Questionable in this respect, is also a relation to Turkic *bat*- 'to descent and disappear; to sink (of the sun etc.), to set' (Clauson 1972: 298).

twists reindeer horns—or relate it with Yakut either *battax* 'volos, volosy; 2. koža, šereť' (Slepcov 1972: 67b) or *badax* 'počti, okolo, priblizitel'no' (Slepcov 1972: 59b).

Nevertheless, in order to disclose the origin of the term *Badəkšaan* Samoyedic, Tungusic as well as Paleosiberian possible etymological trajectories should also be investigated.

Finally, it should be mentioned that some Dukhan speakers view Badəkšaan as synonymous to *ävlin*, a term widely occurring in Sayan Turkic folklore and denoting an evil demon—cf. Tuvan *albïn* 'sloj dux, nečistaja sila' (Tatarincev 2000: 97–98) and Tofan *ablïn* 'id' (Rassadin 1971: 151)—representing a loanword from Mongolic; cf. literary Mongolian *albin* 'demon, devil, evil spirit',[13] Khalkha Mongolian *albin* and Kalmyk (Oyrat) *äl'wn* (Khabtagaeva 2009: 190). The Dukhan form clearly represents a methathesized Oyrat Mongolian form. For some other Dukhans, however, *ävlin*, though sharing some common traits with Badəkšaan, has its own characteristic features, such as supernatural strength and a clearly negative character in its deeds.

To end up with, I would like to raise some questions concerning a possible relation between the Dukhan forest creature just described and the well-known toponym Badaḵšān (بدخشان), an important trading centre on the Silk Road, especially famous for its precious stones such as Lapis Lazuli and rubies. Historically, Badaḵšān is first mentioned in seventh century Chinese sources; cf. Eilers (1961). Marco Polo, who travelled in this region, gives a detailed description of it; see Pelliot (1959: 63–65 n. 47) and Burgio & Simion (2015). As for Mongolic sources, Badaḵšān is mentioned several times in Rašīd-ud-Dīn's *Compendium of Chronicles* (Thackstone 2012: 551) and in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§257).

As for its etymology, the toponym Badaḵšān most probably goes back to Middle Persian *bitaχš* 'supervisor', augmented by the patronymic suffix *-ān* indicating thus that the country belonged to a person holding the rank of a *bitaχš*; see Eilers (1960: 209–210) and de Planhol & Balland & Eilers (1988: 355–361) for details. This etymology is, however, not unanimously accepted. For a different Iranian explanation, also see Nyberg (1974–1947).

At this point several questions arise: which is the connection between the toponym Badaḵšān and the taiga blond creature resembling an elf addicted to reindeer milk? Is there any connection between the presence of precious stones in Central Asian Badaḵšān and northern Khövsgöl aimag which is also

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13   Moreover, the female demon *Albastı* occurring in Turkish folklore quite possibly is a related creature; see, a.o., Tatarincev (2000: 98) and Ragagnin (2013: 68).

well-known for its wealth of precious stones and gold? Are we perhaps dealing with an Iranian *Wanderwort*? May this word shed some further light on the ancient presence of Indo-Europeans in this area? And finally, could the name of this enigmatic blond forest creature, possibly inspired by Iranian, be ascribed to the language of the Uriangqai people?[14] I know, especially the last point is quite a wild shot ... [to be continued]

Notes on Transcription

The transcription employed here follows general Turcological principles, with the following additions: schwa [ə], the centralized vowel *i*, and the apex [ʰ] to denote preaspiration of fortis consonants.

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14 The name *Uriangqai* is mentioned several times in the *Secret History of the Mongols* without, however, any ethnic or linguistic connotations. Several proposals on the origin of the Uriangqai have been advanced, see, a.o. Jahnunen (2014), Ragagnin (2011: 20) and Wilhelm (1957). Also cf. the information provided in Rašīd-ud-Dīn's *Compendium of Chronicles* (§107) about the "forest" Uriangqat tribe (Thackston 2012: 42) and Carruthers (1913).

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Kollektaneen zum Uigurischen Wörterbuch: Zwei Weisheiten und Drei Naturen im uigurischen Buddhismus

Klaus Röhrborn

1 Einführung

Die uigurischen Buddhisten werden im Laufe ihrer Geschichte mit verschiedenen dogmatischen Richtungen konfrontiert. Sie müssen aber die alte Lehre nicht „vergessen", wenn eine neue Richtung aufkommt. Sie haben eine bestimmte Form der Hermeneutik, die Lehre von der „stufenweisen Offenbarung"[1], und diese Hermeneutik erlaubt es Ihnen, auch ältere Lehren zu akzeptieren. Wenn es Widersprüche zwischen der alten und der neuen Doktrin gibt, dann kann man das durch kleine „Korrekturen" des alten Textes aus der Welt schaffen. Solche Korrekturen finden sich zum Beispiel im 3. Kapitel des Goldglanz-Sūtras (Version des Yijing). Dort wird der Text des Yijing „korrigiert", um zu verhindern, dass er im nihilistischen Sinne „missverstanden" wird.[2] Wenn es eine größere Divergenz zwischen der alten und der neuen Doktrin gibt, dann hilft nur eine Ergänzung des alten Textes. Solche Ergänzungen werden als Glossen in den Text eingefügt.[3] Glossen können einen neuen Inhalt vermitteln, wenn in einem Text eine Sache fehlt, die den Vertretern der neuen Lehre sehr wichtig ist. Dazu gehören zum Beispiel die Glossen des uig. Goldglanz-Sūtras, die von den uigurischen Vertretern der chin. Faxiang-Schule (Vijñānavāda) im Zusammenhang mit der Schilderung der Etappen des Bodhisattva-Weges gemacht worden sind.[4] In anderen Glossen versucht man die Dogmen der alten Richtung in die neue, eigene Lehre einzuordnen. Eine Glosse von dieser Art wollen wir im vorliegenden Beitrag näher analysieren. Die Glosse untersucht das Verhältnis der Zwei Weisheiten[5] des Mādhyamika-Buddhismus zu den Drei Naturen des Vijñānavāda.

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1 Vgl. dazu Sitātap 240 ff., NirvLehre 146 f.

2 Vgl. dazu ŚūnVijñ 123–124.

3 Für die Entstehung solcher Glossen vgl. Robinson 1967, 82.

4 Vgl. Suv 248:20 bis 309:15.

5 Wir verwenden, um der Einheitlichkeit willen, stets die uigurischen Termini.

Teitaro Suzuki hat in der Einleitung zu seiner Übersetzung des Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra schon im Jahre 1930 darauf hingewiesen, dass man die Śūnyatā-Lehre und die idealistische Lehre der Yogācāra-Schule nicht so scharf trennen kann[6]. Auch das chin. Goldglanz-Sūtra hat Passagen, die den Leser verwirren können. So werden am Ende des 2. Kapitels dreimal 10 Gründe aufgezählt, warum die Tathāgatas das Vorhandensein des Nirvana gepredigt haben. Am Ende der dritten Aufzählung heißt es: „Die Tathāgatas haben klar erkannt, dass die Wesenheit der Wesen und der Dharmas leer ist und dass außer dem Leeren Existenz nicht ist."[7] Im nächsten Satz liest man aber: „Weil die Natur der Leere der wirkliche *dharma*-Körper ist, darum heißt es Nirvāṇa"[8].

2   Die Zwei vorzüglichen Weisheiten (atü. *iki törlüg yeg bilgä biliglär*)

Die Lehre von den Zwei Weisheiten („Wahrhaftige oder absolute Weisheit" = skr. *paramārtha-satya* versus „Konventionelle oder relative Weisheit" = skr. *saṃvṛti-satya*) hat seit dem Beginn des 5. Jhs. durch die Übersetzung des Madhyamaka-śāstra (chin. *Zhonglun*) des indischen Philosophen Nāgārjuna (etwa 150 bis 250 n. Chr.) in China großen Einfluss ausgeübt. Diese Lehre wird auch im 6. Kapitel des chinesischen Goldglanz-Sūtras rezipiert, dessen Text die Vorlage für die alttürkische Übersetzung des Goldglanz-Sūtras gewesen ist.

Nach Bocking[9] wird die Wahrhaftige Weisheit im Madhyamakaśāstra (chin. *Zhonglun*) des Nāgārjuna „gleichgesetzt mit der Doktrin von der Leere, mit dem ‚Nicht-Entstehen' und dem ‚Nicht-Vergehen' der Dharmas und mit der absoluten Kausalität"[10]. Im chin. Goldglanz-Sūtra wird die Wahrhaftige Weisheit mit den Zeichen *zhen ... sheng zhi* (Giles 589 ... 9876 1784) „das vorzügliche Wissen ... von der Wirklichkeit"[11] wiedergegeben. Das Zeichen *zhen* wird in der atü. Glosse in einer sehr interessanten Weise übersetzt, wie wir in Abschnitt 4 näher erläutern werden. Die Konventionelle Weisheit (im chin. Goldglanz-Sūtra: *su*

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6   Suzuki 1975, 170.

7   Nobel 1958, 36.

8   A. a. O.

9   Bocking 1995, 28.

10   Was damit gemeint ist, erläutert der Autor auf den Seiten 14 ff.: Auch „Kausalität" nach dem gewöhnlichen Verständnis ist ein Terminus der Konventionellen Weisheit.

11   Taishō-Tripiṭaka 418 c 15–16.

sheng zhi [Giles 10313 9876 1784][12]) hat dagegen in unserer Glosse die normale („wörtliche") uig. Entsprechung: *yertinčülüg bilgä bilig* „Weltliche Weisheit"[13].

3   Die Drei Naturen oder Wesenheiten (atü. *üč törlüg tözlär*)

Wie der Name der Faxiang- oder Dharmalakṣaṇa-Schule sagt, sind die Dharmas nur „Erscheinungen (atü. *lakṣaṇa*)". Sie sind keine selbständigen Wesenheiten. Es gibt nur eine selbständige „Natur oder Wesenheit (atü. *töz*)", und das ist die Pariniṣpanna-Natur / Wesenheit. Diese Wesenheit ist als „Feines Sein (atü. *sukančıg bar*)" allen Dharmas immanent.[14] Sie ist auch in der Paratantra-Wesenheit vertreten, wenn man sie richtig versteht. Wenn man die Phänomene des Paratantra als eigenständige Existenzen (mit den Konzepten Ātman und Dharma) interpretiert, dann gehören diese Phänomene zur Parikalpita-Wesenheit.[15] Sie gehören dann zu dem Teil des Paratantra, der „mit Fließen behaftet (atü. *akıglıg*)"[16] oder „schmutzig, befleckt (atü. *kkirlig*)" ist, wie es in der Glosse (Zeile 252:6) heißt. Im reinen Teil des Paratantra, der „ohne Fließen (atü. *akıgsız*)" und „schmutzlos (atü. *kirsiz*)" ist (Zeile 251:24), sind die sog. Asaṃskṛta-dharmas, die nicht der Verursachung durch Bedingungen (skr. *pratyaya*) unterliegen[17], dann aber auch die Elemente der religiösen Erkenntnis (skr. *mārgasatya*)[18].

4   Text und Übersetzung einer Glosse im 6. Kapitel des uigurischen Goldglanz-Sūtras

Der chinesische Text schildert im 6. Kapitel die Ursachen für die Erweckung des Bodhi-Gedankens, nämlich die Zehn Vollkommenheiten (skr. *pāramitā*), und als Bedingung für das Erreichen, wörtlich für die „Vollendung" einer Pāra-

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12   Taishō-Tripiṭaka 418 c 16.

13   Suv 252:2–3.

14   Vgl. dazu RezTerm 185; NirvLehre 163–165.

15   La Vallée Poussin 1928–1929, 547 ff.

16   Das ist eine Bedeutungs-Entlehnung nach skr. *sāsrava*. Dieser Terminus wird in den europäischen Studien verschieden interpretiert. Die Übersetzung im Uigurischen Wörterbuch („mit Einfließen") verdanke ich der Kollegin Siglinde Dietz.

17   TermBuddh 287; vgl. auch Rosenberg 1924, 121 f.

18   Vgl. TermBuddh 277.

mitā durch die Bodhisattvas nennt der chinesische Text je 5 Dharmas. Dabei bleibt es aber im uigurischen Text nicht. Jeder einzelne Dharma von diesen 5 Dharmas wird ausführlich kommentiert. Der chinesische Text nennt als 3. Bedingung für die „Vollendung" der 6. Pāramitā („Pāramitā der Erkenntnis"), dass „[die Bodhisattvas] sich freuen an der guten Unterscheidung zwischen den [beiden] vorzüglichen Wissen, [nämlich] dem wirklichen und dem weltlichen [Wissen]"[19]. Das wird im uigurischen Text (auf S. 248:10–13) fast wörtlich übersetzt.[20] Die Erklärung dieser Bedingung, die nur im uigurischen Text vorhanden ist, folgt einige Seiten später, auf den Seiten 251 (Zeile 11) bis 253 (Zeile 3). Das ist die Glosse, die wir in Abschnitt 5 (Text) und 6 (Übersetzung) publizieren wollen.

Der Grund für die Abfassung dieser Glosse ist offenbar derselbe, den man auch für andere Glossen[21] beobachten kann: Eine extreme Interpretation der Śūnyatā-Lehre soll verhindert werden durch den Hinweis auf die reale Existenz der Pariniṣpanna-Natur[22]. Die „Wahrhaftige vorzügliche Weisheit (chin. *zhen sheng zhi* [Giles 9876 1784])" wird im atü. Text mit *nomlug … yeg bilgä bilig* „… vorzügliche Weisheit des Dharma" übersetzt (Text, Zeile 251:15–17). Dazu muss man wissen, dass der Begriff „Dharma" in der Faxiang-Schule stark negativ besetzt ist. „Dharma (atü. *nom*)" ist zusammen mit „Ego (atü. *män*)" verantwortlich für ein falsches Verständnis der Erscheinungen der Welt. In unserem Text wird ausgerechnet die „Wahrhaftige vorzügliche Weisheit" des chin. Textes mit „Dharma (atü. *nom*)" qualifiziert. Das kann man nur als „Dharma par excellence" verstehen. Es handelt sich also hier um die „im Wesen realen Dharmas, die als wahrhaftige² Dharmas erscheinen"[23], die in einer anderen Glosse des Goldglanz-Sūtras[24] erwähnt werden. Die Junktur *nomlug bilgä bilig* (Zeile 251:19–20) wäre also zu interpretieren: „Weisheit, die verbunden ist mit den [wahrhaftigen, realen] Dharmas" oder „Weisheit, die auf die [wahrhaftigen, realen] Dharmas rekurriert".

Beide Weisheiten haben – wie in der Mādhyamika-Schule[25] – auch in der Faxiang-Richtung ihren Sinn: Die Konventionelle Weisheit führt zum Verständnis der Wahrhaftigen Weisheit (vgl. Zeile 252:13–17). Darüber hinaus haben

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19   Übersetzung folgt weitgehend Nobel 1958, 133.

20   Suv 248:11–13: *nomlug yertinčülüg iki törlüg yeg bilgä bigiglärig adırtlagalı sävmäk*. Unsere Übersetzung folgt, soweit möglich, der Übersetzung von Nobel (1958, 133).

21   Vgl. ŚūnVijñ 123.

22   Vgl. Text, Zeile 251:21–22.

23   Suv 218:21–22. Diese Stelle hatten wir in RezTerm 180 etwas anders interpretiert.

24   Vgl. RezTerm 180.

25   Bocking 1995, 87.

beide Weisheiten für die Faxiang-Schule noch eine besondere Bedeutung: Die Übung in den beiden Weisheiten führt zum Verständnis der Drei Naturen (Zeile 252:18–19). Die Lehre von den Zwei Weisheiten ist also eine Vorstufe der Lehre von den Drei Naturen der Faxiang-Schule.

5 Text

251:11 üčünč nomlug **12** yertinčülüg iki törlüg yeg **13** bilgä biliglärig adırtlagalı **14** sävmäkkä tayanıp bilgä bilig **15** p(a)ramıtıg nätägin bütürürlär ; nom- **16** lug yertinčülüg iki törlüg **17** yeg bilgä biliglär ymä kayu ärür **18** tep tesär nomlug yertinčülüg **19** iki törlüg yeg bilgä biliglärtä yänä nom- **20** lug bilgä bilig ärsär ; k(a)ltı üč **21** törlüg tözlär ičintä tolun bütmiš **22** čınkertü töztä tutulmıš yänä adın- **28** lar tayakıŋa turmıš töznüŋ **24** kkirsiz arıg akıgsız bölökintä **252:1** tutulmıš čınkertü akıgsız nomlug **2** inyana bilgä bilig ärür ; yertinčü- **3** lüg bilgä bilig ärsär k(a)ltı **4** üč törlüg tözlär ičintä alku- **5** ka adkantačı[26] töztin[27] tutulmıš **5** yänä adınlar tayakıŋa turmıš töznüŋ **6** kkirlig[28] akıglıg bölökintä tutulmıš **7** yertinčülüg akıglıg bilgä bilig **8** ärür ; adırtlagalı sävmäk ärsär **9** k(a)ltı bo iki törlüg bilgä biliglär- **10** ig[29] adırtlıg ukup kirsiz arıg **11** akıgsız čınkertü bilgä biligtä **12** ögretinmäkniŋ ugrayu kutrulmak **13** tüš bertäčisin kkirlig akıglıg **14** yertinčülüg bilgä biligdä ögrä- **15** dinmäkniŋ ugrayu čınkertü bilgä **16** biligkä tägürmäk tüš bertäčisin **17** adıra ukmak ärür ; ınčıp **18** bodis(a)t(a)vlar bo muntag yaŋın üč törlüg **19** tözlärig adırtlıg ukturtačı nomlug **20** yertinčülüg iki törlüg bilgä bilig- **21** lärig adırtlagalı sävmäk{ä}läri üzä **22** tütrüm täriŋ bilgä biliglär ičin- **23** tä tı uzatı bıšrunurlar ögräti- **24** nürlär ; bo ärür nomlug yertinčülüg **253:1** iki törlüg yeg bilgä biliglärig **2** adırtlagalı sävmäkkä tayanıp praty- **3** a bilgä bilig p(a)ramıtı{r}g bütürmäk ;

6 Übersetzung

Drittens: **251:14–15** Wie vollenden [die Bodhisattvas] die Prajñāpāramitā, indem sie sich darauf stützen, dass sie das Verlangen haben, **11–13** die beiden vorzüglichen Weisheiten, [nämlich] die Wahrhaftige und die Konventionelle

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26   adkantačı: Var. Berlin U 595 v. 12 hat: *adkanguluk*.

27   töztin: Var. Berlin U 595 v. 13 hat: *tözdä*.

28   Transliteration: *kkyrlyq* (sic), die Berliner Variante Mainz 566 v. 2 hat: *kyrlyk*.

29   Im Druck steht fehlerhaft: *biliglärin*. Im Druckfehler-Verzeichnis (S. 711) wird das korrigiert zu: *biliglärig*.

[Weisheit], zu unterscheiden. **15–18** Wenn man sagt: ‚Welches sind die beiden vorzüglichen Weisheiten, die Wahrhaftige und die Konventionelle [Weisheit]?‘, [so ist die Antwort]: **18–20** Die Wahrhaftige Weisheit von den beiden vorzüglichen Weisheiten – wahrhaftig und konventionell – **252:1–2** [das] ist die Jñāna-Weisheit der wahren², āsrava-freien[30] Dharmas, **251:20–22** die – innerhalb der Drei Naturen – in der wahrhaftigen Natur des Pariniṣpanna enthalten ist und **22–24** die im unbefleckten, reinen, āsrava-freien Teil der Paratantra-Natur **252:1** enthalten ist. **2–3** Die Konventionelle Weisheit **7–8** ist die konventionelle, mit Āsrava behaftete Weisheit, die – innerhalb der Drei Naturen – in der Parikalpita-Natur enthalten ist **5–6** und die im befleckten, mit Āsrava behafteten Teil der Paratantra-Natur enthalten ist. **8** Das Verlangen [der Bodhisattvas, diese beiden Weisheiten] zu unterscheiden, **9–10** [erklärt sich dadurch, dass die Bodhisattvas], nachdem sie diese beiden Weisheiten detailliert erkannt haben, **10–12** wissen, dass die Übung in der unbefleckten, reinen, āsrava-freien Wahrhaftigen Weisheit **12–13** sicherlich in der Erlösung resultiert, **13–16** und dass die Übung in der befleckten, mit Āsrava behafteten Konventionellen Weisheit **12–17** sicherlich im Erlangen der Wahrhaftigen Weisheit resultiert. **18, 21** Weil die Bodhisattvas in dieser Weise das Verlangen haben, **19–20** die beiden Weisheiten, die Wahrhaftige und die Konventionelle [Weisheit], die zum genauen Verständnis der Drei Naturen führen, **21** zu unterscheiden, **22–24** [deshalb] üben² sie sich lange Zeit² in [diesen] tiefen² Weisheiten. Das heißt: **253:3** die Prajñā-pāramitā vollenden, **2** indem man sich auf das Verlangen stützt, **252:24–253:2** die beiden vorzüglichen Weisheiten, die Wahrhaftige und die Konventionelle [Weisheit], zu unterscheiden.

7   Literaturverzeichnis

Siglen und Kurztitel, die hier fehlen, suche man in der Bibliographie des „Uigurischen Wörterbuchs" (2010)[31] oder im Nachtrag 1 von dieser Bibliographie[32].

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30   Siehe dazu die Fußnote 16.

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Some Medical and Related Terms in Middle Mongɣol

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The following contribution is an extract from a forthcoming work of mine, entitled *An Etymological Dictionary of Middle Mongɣol*. In order to be able to present the material of the subject in one article, the use of secondary sources has been limited to the minimum.

abit (AT[1] *abid*) Eingeweide, Kaldaunen [M] || MoL *abid* intestines (obs.) (dRa04: 256 [**harvin → *arbin → *abin →* (pl.) *abit*, cf. Kh. *xarvin* the lower belly]); KhalL/B *xarvin* (*suux*) belly fat
   → **abitla-** das Los werfen [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅
ada [S U] ~ *ata* [U] malheur envoyé par un esprit, calamité, (pl.) *adas* [U][1] || Ord. *ada* démon, diable, objet d'aversion; Kalm. *adᵉ* Wahnsinn, Verrücktheit; der böse Geist, der den Wahnsinn verursacht, *adᵉ gem* Epilepsie; MoL *ada*, KhalL *ad* evil spirit; demon, devil; object of aversion; nuisance; obstacle, hindrance—Birtalan 2001: 936–937, MYYC 93
   → **adala-** Unheil machen (Krankheitsdämon) [M] || Ord. *adala-* s'établir dans (dit d'un démon); maltraiter, traiter durement, mépriser, ne pouvoir souffrir; Kalm. *adlχᵉ* verrückt, besessen sein ≈ *adṛχᵉ* wahnsinnig werden oder sein; MoL *adala-*, KhalL *adlax* to obsess, bewitch; to maltreat, treat as a nuisance; to rage like a possessed
   → **ada-tu** dangerous [U][2] || Ord. *adatā̆* ayant un démon, causé par un démon; Kalm. *adᵉtē* toll, wahnsinnig; epileptisch ~ *attɛ:* vom bösen Geist besessen, Epileptiker, epileptisch; MoL *adatai*, KhalL *adtaĭ* possessed by a demon; devilish; quick, lively; very, exceedingly
a·ur [M S] ~ *aur* [S] ~ *uɣur* [U] Mörser ?≈? *hawur* [A] ~ *hu·ur* [A] (Cag. *gür* (*gor*?), read **gür* or **kür*?, cf. MoL *kegür*?)[3] grave || Ord. *ūr* mortir (pour

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< Tu. *ada* not noted later than Uig., where it is often used in the Hend. *ada tuda*; 'danger' or the like; l.-w. in Mo., reborrowings in NE NC (C72: 40)—Kara 2001: 78, 94; VEWT 5a

2 Semantically influenced by Tu. *adalïɣ* den. n. fr. *ada*; 'dangerous'; n.o.a.b. (C72: 59)

3 Tu. < Pe. *gor* a tomb, grave, sepulchre, monument; etc. (St 1101). Trki *gor* [Pe.] grave (Ja64: 105)—VEWT 150b

piler le thé ou pour décortiquer le millet); Kalm. *ūr* hölzener Mörser; MoL
aɣur ~ oɣur ~ uɣur ~ uɣuur, KhalL *uur* mortar; vessel in which substances
are pounded or rubbed—MYYC 663

→ **hu·urtu** (Cag. *güristan*)[4] cemetry [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

ḥajamat cupping, scarifying, bloodletting (medical treatments) (Cag.
ḥajamat) [A][5] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

alja- [M U] ~ *halja-* [S] behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein; schaden || Ord.
Kalm. ∅; MoL *alja-*, Khal. *alzax* to suffer, be unable to bear

→ **aljaɣa-** to be troubled [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. MoL *aljiya-*, KhalL
alžaax

→ **aljaqda-** in Not gebracht, gequält werden [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **aljangɣu** feeble [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. MoL *aljiyangɣui*, KhalL
alžaanguĭ fatigue, exhaustion; fatigued, exhausted

ami/n (Cag. *ǰan*)[6] life, soul [M S U P A], (pl.) *amit* [S] || Ord. *ami* vie, propre;
Kalm. *ämṇ ~ äm'n* (i) das Leben, Geist, Seele, Lebenswärme; (ii) selbst,
Selbstheit; (iii) aller- (vor Superlativ); MoL *ami/n*, KhalL *amь* (i) life;
breath, power of respiration; (ii) private, individual, personal—Birtalan
2001: 941, MYYC 107, Nugteren 2011: 269

→ **amidu** (MTu. *tirig* ~ Cag. *tirik*)[7] [P A] ~ *amidu/i* [M U] living (being), live,
alive; having a soul || Ord. *amidu* vivant; Kalm. *ämdə* lebendig; MoL *amidu*,
KhalL *amьd* living, animated—MYYC 107, Nugteren 2011: 269

→ **amidula-** (Cag. *tiriklik qïl-*)[8] to live [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **amidura-** aufleben machen [U] || Ord. *amidoro-* redevenir vivant, se
refaire; Kalm. *ämdṛχɐ* wieder aufleben, aufs neue leben, auferstehen; MoL
amidura-, KhalL *amьdrax* to live, be alive; to live on or by; to exist; to rise
from the dead, be resurrected; to be restored to life or consciousness

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4 Tu. < Pe. *goristān* a burying-ground; a hermit's cell (St 1102)—Trki *goresta:n* [Pe.] graveyard,
burial-place (Ja64: 105)

5 Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *ḥajāmat* barber or cupper; shaving, cupping, scarifying, etc.; a cupping-
glass (St 412)

6 Tu. < Pe. *jān* soul, (vital) spirit, mind; self; life; courage; etc. (St 352). Trki *ja:n ~ jan* [Pe.] life,
soul (Ja64: 91)—VEWT 123b

7 Tu. *tirig* (*d°*) dev. n. fr. **tir-*; 'living, alive; life'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 543–544)—Berta 1996: 358–361,
VEWT 481a

8 *tiriglig qïl-* to live ← Tu. *tiriglik* den. n. fr. *tirig*; 'life, existence', and the like; s.i.m.m.l.g. (C72:
546)—Berta 1996: 359 + Tu. *qïl-* 'to do, make (sth.)' and the like; very often used to form
compound v.s with n.s, esp. in the later period; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 616)—Berta 1996; 242–246,
VEWT 263a

→ **amidurawul**- leben [A] || Ord. *amidorūl*- faire redevenir vivant; Kalm. *ämdᵊrūlχə* wieder aufleben lassen = *ämdᵊrēχə* ins Leben zurückrufen, auferstehen lassen, von den Toten auferwecken; MoL *amiduraɣul*-, KhalL *amьdruulax* caus. of *amidura*-

→ **amitan** living beings [S U P] || Ord. *amitan* êtres vivants, être vivant, gens; Kalm. *ämtṇ* lebendiges Wesen, (auch koll.) alles Lebende, Tiere u. Pflanzen (gew. nur) Tiere; MoL *amitan*, KhalL *amьtan* living being, animal, creature, human being

→ **amitu** (Cag. *ǰanlïq*) [M P A] || Ord. *amitā̆* ayant la vie, être vivant, meubles, effets; Kalm. ∅; MoL **amitu ~ amitai*, KhalL *amьtaĭ* having life, living

hamis- ~ *hanis*- (Cag. *čüskür*-)⁹ niesen, atmen [A] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *amis*-, KhalL *amьsax* to breathe; to sigh

→ ***hamisqa**- ~ *hanisqa*- (Cag. *čüskür*-) [A] || Ord. *amisχa*- respirer; avoir quelque relâche après une grande peine; un travail fatigant etc.; Kalm. *ämşχᵊχɐ* atmen, hauchen, keuchen; leben; MoL *amisqa- ~ amisqu*-, KhalL *amьsgax* to breathe

ana- (durch Behandlung) heilen [M] || Ord. *ana*- se guérir; se fermer (blessure); Kalm. ∅; MoL *ana*-, KhalL *anax* to get well; to heal (of a wound)—Nugteren 2011: 270

→ **anaɣul**- heilen [U] || Ord. *anūl- ~ anā*-; Kalm. ∅; MoL *anaɣul*-, KhalL *anuulax* ~ MoL *anaɣa*-, KhalL *anagaax* to heal, cure, treat a disease; to seal cracks with clay, caulk

hani- (Cag. *yum*-)¹⁰ zusammendrücken, zudrücken (Augen, Mund) [A] || Ord. *anī*- fermer les yeux, mourir; Kalm. *ańχɐ ~ ańχɐ* mit d. Augen blinzeln, d. Auge zuschliessen; MoL *ani*-, KhalL *anix* to close one's eyes; for a wound, crack or fissure to close—MYYC 113, Nugteren 2011: 349

haq- fest werden, gerinnen [M] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *aɣ*-, KhalL *agax* to dry, dry up; to become tired, exhausted

→ **haqda**- (AT¹ *aɣda*-) zum Gerinnen gebracht werden (Blut) [M] || Ord. ∅; (?) Kalm. *ād̮ᵊχɐ* trösten(?); beruhigen; MoL **aɣda*-

arba- (Cag. *arba*-) Zauberformeln sprechen [M A]¹¹—dRa04: 998 || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

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9   Otü. *čüškär*-, Kzx. *tüškir*-, Bšk. *söskör*- etc.—onom. 'niesen' (VEWT 121b)

10   Tu. *yum*- 'to shut' (the eyes, the mouth), 'to clench' (the fist); s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 934)—Berta 1996: 479–487, VEWT 210b

11   < Tu. *arva*- 'to make magic, cast spells'; survives in NE NC SC (C72: 199)—VEWT 24a

arqa [M S] ~ *arɣa* (Cag. *mekr* ~ *tedbär*)[12] [U A] Plan, List, Bosheit; (geschick-
tes) Mittel, *arɣ-a bilig* [knowledge of] skillful means and wisdom, two
qualities possessed by the Buddha (Skt. *upāya-prajñā*); matter and mind;
the male and female elements [U], (pl.) *arqas* [M]—Rao4: 1316 || Ord. *arɣa*
moyen, stratagème, ruse, artifice, habilité; Kalm. *arɣɐ* Mittel, Ausweg zur
Rettung, List, Listigkeit; MoL *arɣ-a*, KhalL *arga* means, method; way out,
possibilty; ruse, trick, artifice, scheming; the male or positive element in
nature as contracted with the female or negative element; positive pole—
Nugteren 2011: 273

→ **arqada-** [M] ~ *arɣada-* (Cag. *alda-*)[13] [A] täuschen, sich verstellen;
betrügen—dRao4: 513 || Ord. *arɣada-* amadouer; Kalm. *arɣɐdᵉχɐ* überlis-
ten; überreden, beruhigen; MoL *arɣada-*, KhalL *argadax* to coax, cajole,
wheedle; to console, comfort, appease; to persuade

→ **arqala-** sich verstellen [M] ~ *arɣala-* heilen [U]—dRao4: 884 || Ord.
arɣala- se servir d'un artifice, d'une ruse, ruser; prétexter des raisons;
faire semblant; Kalm. *arɣɐlχɐ* Mittel, Auswege finden, sich od. anderen
zu helfen wissen, Rat wissen, retten; MoL *arɣala-*, KhalL *argalax* to find a
way out; to cure or treat a patient; to use a ruse; to feign

→ **arqatu** [M] ~ *arɣ-a-tu* [U] listig || Ord. *arɣatā* ayant un moyen, une ruse,
un artifice, de l'habileté, du savoir-faire; Kalm. ∅; MoL *arɣatu* ~ *arɣatai*,
KhalL *argat* ~ *argataĭ* resourceful, clever, shrewd, crafty; false, illusory,
deceptive

ḥasba (Cag. *ḥasba*) measles [A][14] ||

ayi [M] ~ *ai* [M U A] Ausruf des Schmerzes, Bedauerns [M][15]—prob.
onomapoetic || Ord. *ayā* interjection exprimant des sentiments ou sensa-
tions très divers: l'étonnement, la douleur, la peine, la gêne, l'indignation,
la fatigue etc.; Kalm. *ā̆* (Interj.) ach! hei! halloh! ~ *ayā* (Interj.) ach, oh,
wehe, ei!; MoL *ai*, KhalL *aĭ* interjection expressing pity, sympathy, worry,
fear: Ah! Oh!

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12   Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *makr*, Pe. also *makar* plotting; deceiving; fraud, plot, machination; trick, arti-
      fice; duplicity; malice, malignity; pretext, pretence (St 1300). Trki *mɛka:r* [Pe.] habitually
      deceitful (Ja64: 191)—VEWT 332b ≈ Ar.-Pe. *tadbīr* setting in order, arranging, disposing,
      administering, regulating, managing; advice, counsel; contrivance, device, provision; pol-
      icy, prudence, skill; etc. (St 289). Trki *tɛdbir* [Ar.] deliberation, prudence, measure (Ja64:
      301)

13   Tu. *alta-* den. v. fr. *al*; 'to deceive, trick, cheat (someone)', s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 133)—VEWT 14b

14   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *ḥaṣba/t* measles; spotted fever (St 421). Osm. (lrnd. med.) *hasbe*
      measles (Red 455)

15   Tu. *ay* exclamation; often no more than a vocative prefix; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 265)

barama (MTu. *yavuz*)[16] wretched [A] || Ord. *barama* qui dissipe ses biens, gaspilleur, dépensier, quie use trop vite ses habits, ses bottes etc.; Kalm. ∅; MoL *baram-a ~ barm-a*, KhalL *baram* weak (of a child); weakling; wretched, poor

bela (Cag. *bäla*) calamity, evil; misfortune [A][17] ||

bijil (Cag. *mefluǰ*) paralyzed [A]—MMo. and Cag. unclear, translation after Poppe 1938; ← *bi* + *jil*? ||

bilcirqai ~ *bulciryā* (MTu. Cag. *bäz*)[18] gland [A] || Ord. *bulčarχā* glande; Kalm. *bulčrχā ~ bulǰr̥χā ~ bulčr̥* Geschwulst am Halse (Menschen), Halsdrüse; angeschwollene Halsdrüsen (bei Menschen und Tieren); MoL *bulcirqai*, KhalL *bulčirxai* gland, ganglion; swollen gland—MYYC 169

bizgek ~ *bezgek* (Cag. *bizgek ~ bäzgäk*) malaria [A][19] ||

bolqa- (caus. ← *bol-*) (Cag. *piš- ~ piš-*)[20] machen; handeln, erzeugen, herstellen, schaffen; sich richten nach; zulassen; gar kochen, genau prüfen; kochen, sieden, brodeln [M S U P A] || Ord. *bolyo-* faire devenir, laisser devenir, faire subir une opération tendant à rendre l'objet utilisable (p. ex. cuire, bouillir etc., quand il s'agit de mets); regarder comme; Kalm. *bolɣ*ᵉ*χɐ* machen, dass etwas wird od. ist; MoL *bolɣa-*, KhalL *bolgox* to cause to be/come; to make, make into; to take as; to let ripen or mature; to cook, bake—Nugteren 2011: 285

→ **bolqa·a-** [M S] ~ *bolqā-* [M S] ~ *bolɣaɣa-* [U] to carefully examine, check—dRa04: 612–613 || Ord. *bolyō-* remarquer, s'apercevoir de, observer quelque chose, faire attention à quelque chose; agir avec circonspection; rendre visite (à un malade); Kalm. *bolɣāχɐ* vorsichtig sein, aufmerksam sein, gewissenhaft, bedächtig an etwas gehen; MoL *bolɣuɣa-*, KhalL *bolgoox* to be careful, cautious; to beware; to act with care; to deign to; to visit or inquire after a sick person

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16   Tu. *yavïz* dev. n. fr. **yav-*; 'bad', usually 'morally bad; unfavourable, inauspicious', and the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 881–882)

17   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *balā'* trial, affliction, calamity, evil, ill; a person or thing accounted a trial, etc.; evil genius, evil spirit, devil, fiend (St 196). Trki *bala:* [Ar.] calamity, evil, affliction, bad luck, plague (Ja64: 46)—VEWT 59b

18   Tu. *bäz* 'a swelling on the surface of the body which does not break the skin, tumour, boil', and the like, as opposed to *qart* 'one which does break it, ulcer'; s.i.a.m.l.g. in this sense, more generally, 'a gland' (C72: 388)—VEWT 72b

19   < Tu. *bäzgäk* dev. n. connoting habitual action from *bäz-*; 'ague, malaria'; s.i.a.m.l.g. except NE (C72: 391)—Berta 1996: 79–81, VEWT 72b

20   Tu. *biš-* (*p°*) 'to come to maturity, ripen'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 376–377)—Berta 1996: 85–87, VEWT 76b

→ **bolqa·ul-** [M] ~ *boly̌aγul-* [U] machen lassen || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *boly̌ūlχɐ* machen lassen, das etwas wird; kochen lassen; MoL **boly̌aγul-*

→ **bolqaqda-** [M] ~ *boly̌aγda-* [U] behandelt werden; durch Untersuchung festgestellt werden || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL **boly̌aγda-*

bö·e [M S] Schamane, Zauberer ~ *bȫ* [S] shamaness, (pl.) *bö·es* [M][21] || Ord. *bȫ* chamane; Kalm. *bȫ* Schamane, Hexenmeister; MoL *böge*, KhalL *böö* shaman—Birtalan 2001: 950, 1025, 1031–1033, 1037–1038; MYYC 160; Nugteren 2011: 286

bȫlji- ~ *bȫlje-* ~ *bö·ölje-* (MTu. Cag. *qus-*)[22] erbrechen; kotzen [A] || Ord. *bȫlǰi-* vomir; pousser des épis (céréales); Kalm. *bȫlǰʹχ* s. erbrechen, vomieren; MoL *bögelji-*, KhalL *böölžix* to vomit; to bloom (as grain)—MYYC 160, Nugteren 2011: 286

→ **bö·öljewül-** (Cag. *qusdur-*)[23] [A] || Ord. *bȫlǰūl-* faire vomir, faire rendre gorge; Kalm. *bȫlǰūlχɐ* zum ausbrechen, erbrechen bringen, Ekel empfinden; MoL *bögeljigül-*, KhalL *böölžüülöx* to cause to vomit

→ **bȫljem** Erbrechen [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but see Kalm. *bȫlǰʹsn̩* ~ *bȫlǰēn* Auswurf; MoL *bögeljisü/n*, KhalL *böölžis/ön* vomiting, nausea; vomit, eructation

budi Geister [U][24] || MoL *büde* elementary spirit, general name for spirits

buγ Dampf, Nebel [A][25] || Ord. *buγ* ~ *b. ǰödᵏχör* espèce de démon; Kalm. *buγ* (veralt.) irgend ein Steppendämon, Nebeldämon, *b. čütkr̩* Teufel; MoL *buγ*, KhalL *bug* an evil spirit, demon, vampire

büte- verstopft sein [M] || Ord. *bute-* mourir faute d'air, être asphyxié; avoir la poitrine oppresseé; Kalm. *bütχɐ* ersticken, zugeschlossen sein, luftdicht sein; MoL *büte-*, KhalL *bütex* to be/come covered, closed, stopped up; to close or heal (of a wound); to be stuffy, close (of air); to choke, suffocate, be asphyxiated—MYYC 169, Nugteren 2011: 295

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21   < Tu. *bögü* (*bögö*) [dev. n. fr. *büg-* (**bög-*) erkennen (T74)]; the word seems to connote both wisdom and mysterious spiritual power; l.-w. in Mo.; survives only(?) in SW (C72: 324–325)—VEWT 83a

22   Tu. *qus-* 'to vomit'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 666)—Berta 1996: 276–277, VEWT 304b

23   Tu. *qustur-* caus. of *qus-*; ['to make sick' (of wine)]; s.i.m.m.l. (C72: 666)

24   < Uig. *buti* (= *bute*) Dämonenklasse; dämonisches Wesen (Kara 2001: 87)—Skt. *bhūta* Geschöpf, Wesen; Gespenst, Geist; etc. (Mayrhofer 1993: 255–257).

25   < Tu. *bū* 'steam', in almost all modern languages in which it survives the form is *buγ*; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 292)—VEWT 86a

calbuq (MTu. *čapaq*) ~ *cilbuq* (Cag. *čilbuq*) secretion of eyes [A]²⁶ || Ord.
   Kalm. MoL ∅

car illness, ailments [P] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *car* Kruste, harte Oberfläche (z. B. auf
   altem Schnee, auf erstarrtem Fett nach dem Braten), gestampfte Spuren;
   MoL *car*, KhalL ∅ frozen snow-crust

cēr, in: *cēr kibe* (Cag. *igrändürdi*) [A] || Ord. *čēr* abstinence, prohibition,
   deuil; Kalm. *cēr* (i) Enthaltsamkeit, (ii) die Sitte, gefürchtete od. für
   gefährlich angesehene Sachen und Tiere nicht mit ihrem igentlichen
   Namen zu nennen, sondern Synonyme od. anders leicht verständliche
   Umschreibungen anzuwenden; MoL *ceger*, KhalL *ceer* taboo, prohibition;
   abstinance; quarantine (due to epidemics)—MYYC 565

cer (Cag. *iriŋ*)²⁷ pus [A] || Ord. *čir* glaires qu' on crache, flegmes; Kalm. *cer*
   Schleim in der Gurgel, Speichel; kränklicher Zustand; MoL KhalL *cer*
   phlegm, sputum, mucus—MYYC 567, Nugteren 2011: 300

*cim disease, (pl.) *cimud* [P] || Ord. ∅: Kalm. *čim* (onom.) das Zucken, Jucken,
   Kneifen; MoL KhalL∅—Nugteren 2011: 305–306

cisu/n (Cag. MTu. *qan*)²⁸ [M S U A] Blut || Ord. *ǰusu*; Kalm. *cusṇ*; MoL *cisun*,
   KhalL *cus/un* blood—Birtalan 2001: 950, MYYC 583, Nugteren 2011: 304
   → **cisutan** mit Blut versehene, blutige [M] ||
   → **cisutu** (Cag. *qanliq*) blutig [M A] || Ord. *ǰusutā* ayant du sang, maculé de
   sang; Kalm. *custē* blutig, verflucht; MoL *cisutu*, KhalL *cust* having blood,
   bloody, sanguinary

citkör diable [S A] || Ord. *ǰödᵏχör* diable; ruse, artifice; Kalm. *čütkṛ* Teufel,
   böser Geist; MoL *cidkör*, KhalL *čötgör* devil, demon, fiend; ghost—Birtalan
   2001: 961–962, MYYC 579, Nugteren 2011: 304

colaq to become defective; crippled, lame [A]²⁹ ||

dabɣuli (Cag. ∅) Beule, Schwellung [A] ||

darni ~ *tarni* Spruch, magische Formel, (pl.) *darnis* ~ *tarnis* [U]³⁰ || Ord.
   tarni; Kalm. *tärnɪ* ~ *tärńɪ* magische Beschwörungsformeln od. Gebete;
   MoL KhalL *tarni* magic spells mostly consisting of Skt. syllables or words

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26   < Tu. *čälpäk* 'mucus discharged by the eye'; except SW all modern words with this meaning
      have back vowels (C72.418)—VEWT 99b

27   (↓) *irim*

28   Tu. *qan* 'blood', c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 627–628)—VEWT 230a

29   < Tu. *čoluq* (*čoloq*) prob. dev. n. fr. **čol-*; originally 'with one arm', that is with the other
      missing or paralysed; s.i.a.m.l.g. except NE as *čolaq*, often 'crippled, lame' (C72: 419–420)—
      VEWT 115a

30   < Uig. *darni* ~ *darani* ~ *drni* ~ *tarni* (ZKa78; Kara 2001: 113)—Skt. *dhāraṇī* a mystical
      verse or charm, a meaningless conglomeration of syllables, used as a charm or prayer

and/or unintelligible phonetc units used in religious and quasi-religious rites; charms, dharni, mantra—MYYC 625

→ **dharnici** exorcist, magician; Tantriker, (pl.) *dharncid* [P] || Ord. *tarniči* lama qui sait bien les formules magiques; Kalm. *tärń'čı* der Magier, Beschwörer, Tarni-Kenner; MoL *tarnici/n*, KhalL *tarnič* exorcist, magician

daru (Cag. *daru*) medicine, drug [A][31] || Ord. *dari* poudre à canon; Kalm. *där* ~ *där³* Schiesspulver [Pe. *dar* (*dārū*) Feuer, Pulver, Arzenei, cf. Kzx. *däri*]; MoL *dari*, KhalL *darь* [Pe. *dar*] gunpowder

doqul- (Cag. *aqsa-*)[32] to limp [A]—Li62: 27 || Ord. *doɣol-*; Kalm. *doɣlχɐ-*; MoL *doɣol-* ~ *doɣola-*, KhalL *dogolox* to limp, be lame—MYYC 222, Nugteren 2011: 317

→ **doqalang** [S] ~ *doqula* [S] ~ *doɣolan* [A] ~ *doqolan* [A] ~ *doɣalang* [A] ~ *toɣolan* [A] ~ *toqolan* [A] (MTu. Cag. *aqsaq*)[33] lahm, hinkend; der Lahme, Hinkende [A] || Ord. *doɣoloŋ*; Kalm. *doɣ°lŋ*; MoL *doɣolang* ~ *doɣolong*, KhalL *dogolon/g* lame, limping

dulangir (Kara suggests (↓) *qojigir*) ~ *dulanqir* (MTu. Cag. *qotur*)[34] mangy [A]—cf. (↓) *tulunɣuila-* ||

dülei (Cag. *saqïr* ~ *saɣru* [read: *saɣrū*] ~ *saɣraw*, MTu. Cag. *saɣïr*)[35] [S A] ~ *dülī* [A] sourd—Li62: 28 || Ord. *dulī* sourd, surdité: Kalm. *dülē* taub; MoL *dülei*, KhalL *düleĭ* deaf; dull, lusterless, not transparent, clouded—MYYC 244, Nugteren 2011: 320–321

ebeci/n (MTu. Cag. *aɣrïq*, Cag. *aɣrïqlïq* ~ *iklik* ~ *illet*)[36] [M S U A] ~ *ebedci/n* [U A] ~ *ébecin* [P] ~ *ebcin* [A] ~ *ebücü/n* [A], (pl.) *ebecid* [U] ~ *ebecit* [A] || Ord. *öwöčin*; Kalm. *öwčŋ*; MoL *ebeci/n* ~ *ebedci/n*, KhalL *öwčin* illness, disease, pain; mania, craze—MYYC 539, Nugteren 2011: 322

(Mayrhofer 1992: 778–779), SktB *dhāraṇī* magic formula: often consisting of meaningless combinations of syllables (Edgerton 1953: 284)

31   Mo. (< Tu.) < Pe. *dārū* a medicine, drug; remedy; spirituous liquors; gunpowder; etc. (St 497). Trki *da:ru* ~ *da·ru* ~ *daru* ~ *do:ru* ~ *do·ru* ~ *do·rɛ* [Pe.] medicine, drug, spice, spices (Ja64: 81)—Kara 2001: 91, VEWT 132b–133a

32   Tu. *axsa-* 'to limp, be lame'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 95)—VEWT 9a

33   Tu. *axsaq* dev. n. fr. *axsa-*; 'lame'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 95)—VEWT 9a

34   Tu. *qotur* various kinds of cutaneous disease, human and animals, 'scorfula, scurf, scab, the itch, mange etc.', s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 604)—VEWT 284b

35   Osm. Cag. *saɣïr*, Cag. Otü. *saɣraɣu* ~ *saɣrïɣu*, Otü. *saɣrū* taub (VEWT 393b)

36   Tu. *aɣrïɣ* dev. n. fr. *aɣrï-* ~ *aɣru-*; 'pain, painful; a painful disease', esp. in the Hend. *ig aɣrïɣ*; s.i.a.m.l.g. (c72: 90)—Berta 1996: 30 ≈ Tu. *iglik* den. n. fr. *ig*; 'illness'; n.o.a.b. (C72: 106) ≈ Ar.-Pe. *'illat* an accident, calamity, disease; a cause, reason; a charge, count of indictment (St 862). Trki *ilɛt* [Ar.] plague, disease (Ja64: 139)

→ **ebecitü** (Cag. *iklik ~ zaḥmet ~ aɣrïq ~ aɣrïqlïq*)[37] malade [A] ≈ *ebedcitei* (MTu. *aɣrïn ~ aɣrïq* sick)[38] [A] || Ord. *öwöčitī ~ öwöčitu* ayant une maladie, malade; Kalm. ∅; MoL *ebedcitei* having illness, diseased, unwell, unhealthy; morbid, sickly; *ebedcitei kümün* patient, sick person

→ **ebeciye-** [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Kalm. *öwᵒčĺɣə* eine Krankheit haben, kränkeln; MoL *ebedcile-*, KhalL ∅ to feel pain, to be sick

ebed- [M U A] ~ *ebet-* [M A] (Cag. *aɣrï-*)[39] schmerzen; krank sein || Ord. *öwöd- ~ öwödö-* faire mal; faire une maladie; Kalm. *öwdᵒɣə* wehtun, schmerzen, krank sein; MoL *ebed-*, KhalL *öwdöx* to be taken ill, be sick; to hurt, feel pain—Nugteren 2011: 322

→ **ebedcin**, s. ebecin

→ **ebedüm** Kranker ≈ *öbedüm* Krankheit [A] ||

ebesü/n (MTu. *ot*, Cag. *ot ~ em ~ čöp*)[40] [M S U A] ~ *'ebes-ün* [U] grass, herb, vegetable || Ord. *öwösu* herbe, paille; Kalm. *öwsṇ* Heu, Grass; MoL *ebesü/n ~ ebüsü/n*, KhalL *öws/ön* grass, hay, herb—MYYC 538, Nugteren 2011: 322

→ **ebesüle-** (Cag. *otla-*)[41] grasen [M A] || Ord. *öwöslö-* brouter de l'herbe dans les pâturages, pâturer; Kalm. *öwsĺɣə* Heu geben, mit Heu füttern (Vieh); MoL *ebesüle-*, KhalL *öwslöx* to feed cattle with grass or hay; to feed on growing herbage; to lead to pasture—MYYC 539

→ **ebesülewül-** (Cag. *otlat-*)[42] [A] || Ord. *öwöslūl-* pousser le bétail vers les endroits où il ya a de bonnes herbes, laisser pâturer; Kalm. ∅; MoL **ebesülegül-*

→ **ebesütü** (Cag. *otluq ~ otluɣ*)[43] [A] || Ord. *öwöstī* ayant de l'herbede la paille; Kalm. MoL ∅

ece- ~ hece- (Cag. *ar- ~ har-*, MTu. *arïl-*)[44] müde sein [A] || Ord. *eči-* devenir maigre (bétail); Kalm. *ecᵊɣə* mager, kraftlos werden, abfallen, müde sein;

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37 Tu. *iglig* den. n. fr. *ig*; 'sick, ill' (C72: 106) ≈ Ar.-Pe. *zaḥmat* pain, trouble, disease; etc. (St 611). Trki *zæhmæt ~ zɛhmɛt* [Ar.] pain, trouble (Ja64: 334)—VEWT 528 ≈ (↑) Tu. *aɣrïɣ* ≈ Tu. *aɣrïɣlïɣ* den. n. fr. *aɣrïɣ*; 'suffering fr. pain or illness', esp. chronic illness; s.i.s.m.l. (C72: 93)

38 Tu. *aɣrïn* sick (Berta 1996: 32) ≈ (↑) Tu. *aɣrïɣ ~ aɣrïq*

39 Tu. *aɣrï-* den. v. fr. *aɣïr*; 'to be in pain or painful'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 91)—Berta 1996: 29–33

40 Tu. *ot* (i) 'medical herb, remedy', (ii) 'useless vegetation', (iii) occasionally 'poisonous herb, poison'; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 34–35)—VEWT 366b ≈ (↓) Tu. *äm* ≈ Tu. *čöb* 'sediment, dregs', and the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 394)—VEWT 118a

41 Tu. *otla-* den. v. fr. *ot*; s.i.a.m.l.g., usually 'to graze, browse' (C72: 57)

42 Tu. **otlat-* caus. f. fr. *otla-* 'to let, make graze'

43 Tu. *otluq* 'pasture', *otluɣ* 'covered with vegetation' (both) den. n. fr. *ot* (C72: 55)

44 Tu. *ar-* 'to be tired, exhausted, weak', sometimes with the implication of weakness for lack of food; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 193)—Berta 1996: 42–45, VEWT 22a–b ≈ Tu. *arïl-* hap. leg.; 'to be tired' (C72: 229)

MoL *ece-*, KhalL *ecex* to become lean, thin, gaunt and attenuated; to become exhausted or tired—MYYC 273, Nugteren 2011: 351

→ **ecē-** ~ *hecē-* (Cag. *arquz-* ~ *arɣuz-*)[45] [A] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *ecēχə* entkräften, ausmergeln; MoL *ecege-*, KhalL *eceex* to exhaust, overwork, wear out, cause to become feeble

→ **ece·ül-** (Cag. *harquz-*) [A] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *ecūlχə* = *ecēχə*; MoL **ecegül-*

→ **hecejem** (MTu. *arïlmïš*) tired [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *ečiŋᵏχī* maigre; Kalm. *ecŋkē* abgefallen, mager, kraftlos; MoL *ecengkei* ~ *ecengee*, KhalL *ecenxiü* tired, weared; thin, skinny

'edege- ~ *'edge-* to reanimate, heal [U] || Ord. *edege-*; Kalm. *edgᵊχə* genesen, gesund werden; MoL *edege-*, KhalL *edgex* to recover, get well, heal— MYYC 252, Nugteren 2011: 325

→ **edege·ül-** faire vivre, laisser vivre [S] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *edegē-*redonner la santé, guérir; Kalm. *edgēχə* heilen, kurieren; MoL *edegege-*, KhalL *edgeex* to cure, heal

he·üsiye- (AT¹ *egüsge-*) nicht passen, nicht vertragen (das Land, Klima) [M][46] || Mo. *ügüsiye-* (←) **egüsiye-* to dry in the sun (Poppe apud Cleaves 1950: 114–115₈₄), KhalL/H *ügsex* to wither, dry up

→ **egüsiyegde-** to be considered disagreeable [U] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; Mo. **ügüsiyegde-*

helāk (Cag. *hälāk*) perishing, ruin, destruction [A][47] ||

helal (Cag. *sünnät* ~ *χatnä sūr*)[48] circumcision [A] ?=? *ḥelal* (Cag. *ḥälal*) legal, pure; oath [A][49] ||

elbesü/n (den. n. ← **elbe*) (AT¹ ∅, *n/ibulsun*) magic—dRa04: 629 [M][50] || Ord. *ilbe* ~ *elbe* magie, tour se passe-passe, séduction, tromperie; Kalm. *ilwə*

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45   ?≈? Tu. *arɣur-* caus. f. of *ar-*; 'to tire (someone) out' (C72: 218)

46   ?<? Tu. *ägsü-* 'to be/come, defective, deficient, lacking', and the like; survives in SE NC SW (C72: 117)

47   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *halāk* perishing; being lost; perdition, destruction, ruin; slaughter, death; lost, fatigued (St 1505). Trki *hela:k* [Ar.] perishing, ruin (Ja64: 120)—VEWT 158b

48   Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *sunna/t* nature, habit, custom; mode or manner of acting; institution, regulation, mode of living; the law of God, the divine commands and prohibitions; the traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'ān and held in nearly equal authority (St 700). Trki *sûnnɛt* [Ar.] habit, practice (Ja64: 281)—VEWT 436b ≈ *χatnä sūr* ← (↓) *χetne* + *sur* strap

49   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *ḥalāl* being legal, legitimate; a lawful thing; legal, sanctioned by religion, suitable for food, lawful to eat, killed as prescribed by law; etc. (St 427). Trki *hæla:l* [Ar.] lawful, legal, permitted (Ja64: 116)—VEWT 154a

50   < Tu. *yilvi* ~ *yelvi* 'sorcery, witchcraft', and the like; l.-w. in Mo., reborrowings fr. Mo. (C72: 919–920)—Kara 2001: 104, 118; VEWT 170b–171a, 196b

List, Schmeichelei; MoL *ilbi ~ ilbe ~ yilbi ~ yelbi ~ yelwi*, KhalL *ilbe* magic, witchcraft (→ MoL **ilbesün* etc.)—Nugteren 2011: 375

elewür ~ *ele·ür* (Cag. *saq*)[51] ~ *eleür* (MTu. *ayïq*)[52] ~ *elür* ~ **erür* (→ *erürlik*) nüchtern, enthaltsam; gesund [A] || Ord. *erūl* qui est en bonne santé; qui n'est pas ivre; Kalm. *erūl* nüchtern (nicht betrunken); gesund; bei vollen Verstand; MoL *eregül*, KhalL *erüül* health; healthy, sound; sober, abstinent; untouched, unplowed, virgin (of soil)—MYYC 270, Nugteren 2011: 333 → **elewürlik** ~ *erürlik* (Cag. *saqlïq ~ saɣlïq*)[53] [A] ||

eliye [A] (Cag. MTu. *diw ~ dew ~* Cag. *šaitan*)[54] ~ *elē* [A] demon || OirL *elee* Krankheitsgott, Dämon (Birtalan 2001: 978); EMoL *eliye* demon, *eliyes-ün sibaɣun* owl, *ablin-a eliye* demons and evil spirits (both these words stand as a translation of Tib. *'byung po'i gdon*, Skt. *bhūtagraha*, which is one of the 360 kinds of evil spirits), *eliyes-ün adas* demons₂ (Bosson 1969: 218, 310; Kara 2009: 96) · According to Birtalan (2001: 978, 1058) *eliye* 'demon' and *h/eliye* 'hawk' are one and the same word (der Name des Geistes fällt mit dem für 'Habicht' zusammen, deshalb wurde er auch in Vogelgestalt oder mit Flügeln dargestellt), is this statement correct? Kara (2009: 96–97) differentiates between the two words—de Rachewiltz 1989, Ligeti 1965: 296

em (Cag. *daru ~ merhem*)[55] [S U A] ~ *ėm* [P] médicament, médecine, (pl.) *em-üd* [U][56] || Ord. *em* médecine, potion; poison (pour prendre des animaux sauvages), *em dom* médecine, potion, *usun em* médecine liquide, *ünegen em* strychnine; Kalm. *em* Arznei, *em dom* Arznei und Zaubermittel; MoL, KhalL *em* medicine, drug; witchcraft (obs.)—MYYC 259, Nugteren 2011: 328

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51   Tu. *saq* 'awke, alert', and the like; s.i.s.m.l. in NE NC NW (C72: 803)—VEWT 395b–396a

52   Tu. *aḏïq* dev. n. fr. **aḏ-*; 'sober'; s.i.a.m.l.g except SE SC (C72: 46)—VEWT 4b–5a

53   Tu. *saqlïq* den. n. fr. *saq*; 'wakefulness, watchfulness; caution'; s.i.s.m.l. in NW (C72: 809)

54   Tu. < Pe. *dev ~ dīv* a devil, demon, genius, spirit, ghost, hobgoblin; etc. (St 554). Trki *dev* [Pe.] demon, ghost, giant (Ja64: 86)—VEWT 137b · Skt. *deva* göttlich; Gott; König; Priester; Höchster (von); Götterbild (Mayrhofer 1992: 742–743), SktB *deva* god (Edgerton 1953: 270–271) ≈ Ar.-Pe. *šaiṭān* Satan, the devil; a demon, deuce; proud, stubborn, perverse (demon, man, animal); etc. (St 776). Trki *šeytan ~ šɛytan* [Ar.] devil, Satan (Ja64: 286)—VEWT 441a

55   (↑) *daru* ≈ Pe. *marham* a plaster, any dressing for wounds; salve (St 1220). Trki *mælhæm ~ mɛlhɛm* (corrupt) [Ar.] ointment, salve (Ja64: 188)—VEWT 335a

56   < Tu. *äm* in the early period 'remedy' in general; s.i.m.m.l.g. (not SE SC), in some languages 'remedy' (proper) is represented by Ar. or. Pe. l.-w.s, and *äm* means 'quack remedy, folkmedicine' (C72: 155)—VEWT 41b

→ **emji** physician [S A][57] || Ord. *emci*; Kalm. *emčı* Arzt, Medikus; MoL *emci*, KhalL *emč* physician, surgeon, doctor—MYYC 260

→ ***emcile-** || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *emčılə* heilen, Arzt sein; MoL *emcile-*, KhalL *emčlex* to heal, cure, treat medically—MYYC 261

→ **emcilegül-** einen Arzt tätig sein lassen [U] || MoL *emcilegül-*, KhalL *emčlüülex* caus. of *emcile-*

→ **emle-** (Cag. *ilāǰ qïl- ~ daru qïl-*)[58] to medicate, remedy [A] || Ord. *emne-* traiter un malade, traiter une maladie; Kalm. *emnəχə*; MoL *emle- ~ emne-* to medicate, treat—MYYC 261

→ **emtü** (Cag. *darulïq*) [A] || Ord. *emtī* ayant de la médecine; Kalm. *emtē öwsṇ* Medizin enthaltende Pflanze, Heilpflanze; MoL *emtei ~ emtü*, KhalL *emteĭ ~ emt* having medicine; curative, medicinal, healing, salubrious, MoL *emtei araki* medicated alcoholic beverage, MoL *emtü modun* medicinal tree

emgeg, in: *emgeg jobalang* grief and suffering [U][59] || Ord. *emgek* maladie contagieuse, maladie; Kalm/Ölet (selt.) *emgəγ* körperliches Gebrechen, Verstümmlung; Krankheit; MoL, KhalL *emgeg* bad health, illness; state of being maimed or mutilated; grief, worry

→ **emgeni-** to grieve [U][60] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *emgeni-*, KhalL *emgenex* to worry, be in morning, grieve; to suffer; to condole

emgü- verschlucken [M] || Ord. *uŋᵏχu-* se mettre dans la bouche; Kalm. *ümkᵊχə* einschlürfen, verschlingen; MoL *emkü- ~ ümkü-*, KhalL *ünxex* to put into or hold in the mouth; to collect, gather

enel- [U] || Ord. *enel-* se lamenter; Kalm. *enlχə* leiden, weinen, jammern; MoL *enel-*, KhalL *enelex* to suffer pain of body or mind; to grieve, lament, be distressed

eremdek, in: *eremdek jemdek* (AT[1] *eremdeg jemdek*) schäbig₂, schlecht₂ [M] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *erṃdəγ* körperliches Gebrechen; MoL, KhalL *eremdeg* invalid, cripple; maimed, crippled

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57   < Tu. *ämči* den. n. fr. *äm*; 'physician'; survives in much the same languages as *äm*, some-times 'quack doctor' (C72: 156)

58   *ilāǰ qïl-* to remedy ← Ar.-Pe. *'ilāǰ* applying (a remedy); remedy, cure, treatment, management; a medicine; etc. (St 861). Trki *ila:j ~ ila:j ~ ila:ji*: remedy, means (Ja64: 135) + (↑) *qïl-* · Trki *i. qïl-* to find a remedy, to remedy (Ja64: 135) ≈ *daru qïl-* to medicate, treat ← (↑) *daru* + (↑) *qïl-*

59   < Tu. *ämgäk* dev. n. fr. *ämgä-*; 'pain, agony'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 159)—VEWT 42b

60   < Tu. *ämgän-* refl. f. of *ämgä-*; 'to suffer pain'. Survives only(?) in some SE NW SW languages (C72: 160)

esen [U A] ~ *'esen* [U] ~ *ėsen* [P] heil, gesund, gesunder Körper[61] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *esṇ* gesund, heil; MoL KhalL *esen* healthy, good health; clam, quiet

geji·ün [S] ~ *güjǖn* (MTu. *čiban*)[62] abscess [A] ||

gem fault, mistake; disease [U P], (pl.) *gem-üd* [U][63] || Ord. *gem* defaut, vice, accroc, faute, méfait, maladie; Kalm. *gem* Übel, Schuld, Schaden, Fehler, Krankheit; MoL KhalL *gem* defect, disease, ailment; fault, mistake; wrong, harm; crime; sin, vice—MYYC 291, Nugteren 2011: 340

→ **gem-tü** [U] || Ord. *gemtu* ~ *gemtī* ayant un defaut, une vice; qui a commis une faute; Kalm. *gentē kün* kränlender Mann; MoL *gemtü* ~ *gemtei*, KhalL *gemt* ~ *gemteĭ* defective, diseased, faulty, sinful, guilty, harmful, criminal

guwariš (Cag. *guwariš*) medicine for assisting digestion [A][64] ||

χetne circumcision, in: *χetneyin arasun* [Cag. *χätne terisi*] foreskin [A][65] ||

iduqan [S] ~ *iduγan* (MTu. *qam*)[66] [A] femme chamane ~ (??) *yataχan* [A] Wahrsager, Zauberer || Ord. *udaγan* accoucheuse, accoucheur; Kalm. *udɣen* Hexe, Zauberin, Schamanin; MoL *iduγan* ~ *uduγan* ~ *udaγan*, KhalL *udgan* female shaman; midwife—Birtalan 2001: 996–997, 1031, 1041; Nugteren 2011: 372

ila·ari [M S] un peu mieux (malade) ~ *ilāri* (Cag. *yaχširaq*)[67] better [A] || Ord. *ilari* guéri; Kalm. ∅; MoL *ilari*, KhalL ∅ cured from illness, KhalL/B *ilaarь* recovering, getting better, on the mend

irim, in: *cisun irim* (Cag. *qanï iriŋi*) blood and pus [A][68] || Ord. *iram*, dans: *gedusun iram* dyssenterie; Kalm. ∅; MoL *irim* pus (obs.)

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61   < Uig. (Kara 2001: 92)—Tu. *äsän* 'in good health, sound; safe'; s.i.a.m.l.g. except SE (C72: 248)—VEWT 50a

62   Cag. Otü. *čipqan* Pickel; etc. (VEWT 106a). Trki *čipqan* boil (Ja64: 70)

63   < Tu. *käm* 'illness'; survives only(?) in SW (C72: 720)—VEWT 250b

64   Mo. (< Tu.) < Pe. *guwāriš* ~ *guwārišt* any electuary for assisting digestion (St 1100)

65   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *ḫutna/t* (*ḫatna/t*) (St 448). Trki *χætnε* ~ *χætmε* [Ar.] circumcision (Ja64: 129)—(VEWT 157a)

66   Tu. *qam* 'sorcerer, soothsayer, magician', and the like; survives only(?) in NE (C72: 625)—VEWT 228a

67   Tu. **yaχširaq* 'better' ← Tu. *yaχšï* 'suitable, good-looking', or the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 908)—VEWT 180a + *-rAK* comp. s.

68   < Tu. *iriŋ* dev. n. fr. *iri-*; 'pus'. S.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 233)—Berta 1996: 159–160, VEWT 173a

irü [U] ~ *ira* (Cag. *ïrq*)[69] [A] omen, sign[70] || Ord. *yoro* présage, apparence; Kalm. *yorᵒ* Omen, bedeutungsvolles Zeichen; MoL *iru-a ~ iruu-a ~ irw-a*, KhalL *yor* foreboding, bad omen, premonition—Nugteren 2011: 373

irüge- [U] ~ hire- (*hirē-*?) (Cag. *dua et- ~ du'a qïl-*)[71] [A] beten || Ord. *örȫ-* prononcer des formules de bénédictions, formuler de bons souhaits; Kalm. *yörēχǝ* beglückwünschen, segnen, weihen; MoL *irüge-*, KhalL *yerööx* to wish well, bless, pray; to felicitate; to propose a toast—Nugteren 2011: 357

→ **hirü·er** [M P] ~ *hirēr* (Cag. *sewab ~ χayïr ~ tengri du'asï*)[72] [A] ~ *irüger* [U] ~ *iregür* [U] Gebet (um langes Leben), Wunschgebet, Glückwunsch || Ord. *örȫl* prière, formule de bénédictions, vœux, bons souhaits; bénédictions, vœux et souhaits qui règlent la destinée de quelqu'un; Kalm. *yörēl* Glückwunsch, Segen, Glück; Abschiedsgruss; MoL *irügel ~ irüger* the act of blessing, benediction; prayer, praying; invocation (in favour of one); benevolence, graciousness, KhalL/H *yerööl* a ritual felicitation; blessing, benediction; a prayer—Nugteren 2011: 357–358

*ja·a- || Ord. *ǰa-* indiquer, instiguer, enseigner, prétexter, couvrir d'un prétexte, se réclamer de quelqu'un; avancer un objet dans une certaine direction; Kalm. *zāχa* zeigen, deuten, unterrichten, anleiten; MoL *jïγa*, KhalL *zaax* to point out, show, demonstrate; to teach, instruct—Nugteren 2011: 378

→ **ja·aqa-** anzeigen (als Omen, *sülder*) [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

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69   Tu. *ïrq* originally a conc. n. 'dice, sticks, etc. used for casting lots, divination, etc.', thence 'a magical figure, hexagram', and the like; thence abstract, 'an omen, taking omens, divination, etc.'; survives in SW (C72.213)

70   < Tu. *irü* 'omen, sign'; often *irü bälgü*; vocalization uncertain; survives in Yak.; l.-w. in Mo. (C72.197)—Kara 2001: 95

71   Tu. *dua et- ~ du'a qïl-* to read prayers, pray ← Ar.-Pe. *du'ā'* invocation, prayer; salutation, congratulation, benediction; imprecation; *du'ā kardan* to offer prayers; to say good-bye (St 527). Trki *dua: ~ dua ~ daa:* [Ar.] prayer/s, invocation (Ja64: 89)—VEWT 140–141 + Tu. *et-* 'to organize, put in order' → 'to ornament, adorn' → 'to create' → 'to make', and finally 'to do'. This attenuation occurred chiefly in Western languages, Eastern languages rather avoided the word and continued to use *qïl-* for 'to make, do'. S.i.a.m.l.g., nearly always for 'to make, do', but in most languages used chiefly to form compound verbs out of foreign nouns (C72: 36–37)—VEWT 52a ≈ (↑) *qïl- ·* Trki *d. qïl-* to read prayers, to pray (Ja64: 89)

72   Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *ṣawāb* recompense, reward, premium; requital; a good work (as worthy of reward); etc. (St 347). Trki *sɛva:b ~ sæva:b ~ sava:b* [Ar.] a good meritorious action that entitles to eternal reward; religious merit (Ja64: 272)—VEWT 406a ≈ Ar.-Pe. *ḫair* being kind, favourable to; good; better, best; goods, riches (St 491). Trki *χæyr ~ χïr* [Ar.] good! well! very good! all right! well! (Ja64: 127)—VEWT 152b ≈ Cag. *tengri du'asï* invocation of Heaven

→ **ja·ari/n** (AT¹ *jaɣarin*) [M] ~ **jaɣari/n* [U] göttliches Vorzeichen, Omen; (pl.) *ja·arit* (AT¹ *jaɣarin* ~ *jiɣan*) [M]—dRa04: 448–449 || Ord. *ǰāriŋ* accoucheuse, accoucheur; Kalm. MoL ∅? KhalL/B *zaarin* shaman

→ **jaɣaritu** [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

jalama Wunschgebet, Beschwörung [M] || Ord. *ǰalama* rubans d'étoffe de diverses couleurs qu'on noue à la crinière des chevaux consacrés à une divinité, ou au cou des chameaux, bœufs, moutons ou chèvres consacrés aux dieux; on en voit aussi aux obo, et on en attache en guise d'ornement à la queue et à la crinière des chevaux à l'occasion du *ǰulaq* ou pendant la première lune; Kalm/Ölet *zalmɞ* Fahnen (aus Papier od. Zeug), die an den Obo's (*owā*) festgebunden werden, kleine Flaggen; MoL *jalam-a* ~ *jalm-a* strips of five different colours tied to the mane of horses or to the necks of camels, bulls, rams, or goats consecrated to a deity, also to the tails of horses on certain festive occasions; they are also found on obos; [Kow] five-coloured strips of paper hung on the branches of a tree planted in a vase used by shamans to call spirits

jalbari- (Cag. *yalbar-*) beten, erbitten [M U P A],[73] *jalbariqui* (*ta'at*)[74] worship of God [A] || Ord. *ǰalbari-* dire des prières; joindre les mains (les doigts étant étendus) come pour prier; Kalm. *zalwr̥χɞ* beten (zu den Göttern), inständig bitten, flehen; MoL *jalbari-*, KhalL *zalɞbirax* ~ *zalɞbarix* to pray; to join the palms of one's hands in praying—MYYC 426, Nugteren 2011: 381

jaya- (read: *jayā-?*) [S U] ~ **jaya·a-* [S] ~ *jayā-* (Cag. *yarat-*)[75] [A] prédestiner || Ord. *ǰīyā-* donner (la divinité, à l'homme); s'incarner au sein d'une femme; Kalm. *zayāχɞ* im voraus bestimmen (das Schicksal), geben (von den Göttern und dem Schicksal gesagt), erschaffen; MoL *jayaɣa-*, KhalL *zayax* to grant, bless, ordain (by God or heaven); to predestine

→ **jayaɣada-** [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **jaya·a/n** [M S P] ~ *jayā/n* [M S] ~ **jiyā/n* [A] ~ *jayaɣan* [U] Schicksal; Glück; Auftrag [des Himmels]; rebirth; *tngri-yin jayaɣan-a güicegde-* to be overtaken by the predesteny of heaven (= to die) [U] || Ord. *ǰīyā* destin; Kalm. *zayān* Los, Teil, Schicksal; Prädestination; MoL *jayaɣan*, KhalL

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73 < Tu. *yalvar-* 'to pray, beg, beseech' (to someone); s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 920)—Kara 2001: 95, VEWT 182a–b

74 Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *ṭā'at* obeying, submitting to; obedience, obsequiousness, submission; the service or worship of God, devotion, act of devotion; etc. (St 806). Trki *ta:æt* ~ *ta:ɛt* [Ar.] worship of God, devotion (Ja64: 290)—VEWT 451a

75 Tu. *yarat-* caus. f. of *yara-*; properly 'to make, or find, suitable, convenient', and the like, fr. the earliest period also 'to create', esp. of God creating the world; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 959–960)—Berta 1996: 438–445, VEWT 189b

zayaa fate, destiny, predestination (often understood as the results of a person's good and evil deeds in previous incarnations); luck, fortune, merits accumulated in a former life—Birtalan 2001: 1001–1002, 1037, 1070; MYYC 425; Nugteren 2011: 385

→ **jayāqda-** [S] ~ *jayaɣta-* (read: *jayāɣta-?*) [U] être prédestiné || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *jayaɣaɣda-*

→ **jaya·atan** those having a predestination [P] || Ord. *ǰiyātan ~ ǰiyātun* obtenus du destin; Kalm. *sǟn zayātṇ* die mit gutem Schicksal (od. guter Natur) Begabten; MoL *jayaɣatan*

→ **jayātu** [M] ~ *jaya·atu* [M] ~ *jayaɣatu* [U] ~ *ǰiyātu* (Cag. *baɣt*)[76] [A] schicksalhaft, mit Vorbestimmung; eine Lebensbestimmung habend; (good) fortune || Ord. *ǰiyātu ~ ǰiyātā* ayant un destin, ayant un bon destin; MoL *jayaɣatai ~ jayaɣatu*, KhalL *zayaataĭ ~ zayaat* having a destiny, predestined; fortunate

jewüdü/n [M] ~ *je·üdün* [S] ~ *jegüdün* [U] ~ *ǰūdü* (Cag. *tüš*)[77] [A] Traum || Ord. *ǰūde* rêve, songe; Kalm. *zūdṇ* Traum, Trugbild; MoL *jegüde/n ~ jegüdü/n*, KhalL *züüd* dream—MYYC 465, Nugteren 2011: 386

→ **jewüdüle-** [M] ~ *ǰūdele-* (Cag. *tüš kör-*)[78] [A] träumen || Ord. *ǰūdele-* avoir un rêve, rêver, voir en rêve pendant le sommeil; Kalm. *zūdlχə*; MoL *jegüdele-*, KhalL *züüdlex* to dream—MYYC 465

jibtura- (AL[1] *sibturu-*) abnehmen, schwächer werden; s' affaiblir [M S] ||

joba- (Cag. *raḥmat qïl- ~ engän-*)[79] [M U A] ~ *jobo-* [M U P] leiden || Ord. *ǰowo-* souffrir, éprouver des difficultés, peiner, se donner de la peine, avoir du chagrin, avoir des soucis; Kalm. *zowχə* leiden, sich grämen, trauern, wegen etwas bekümmert sein; MoL *joba-*, KhalL *zowox* to suffer, worry, grieve; to be tortured, tormented; to be in troubles—MYYC 449, Nugteren 2011: 390

→ **joba·a-** [M] ~ *jobo·a-* [M] ~ *jobaɣa-* [U] ~ *jobā-* (Cag. *emgät-*)[80] [A] Mühe, Sorge machen, betrüben, quälen [M] || Ord. *ǰowō-* faire souffrir; causer de la peine, de l'embarras; Kalm. *zowāχə* Pein, Leid verursachen, peinigen, viel Arbeit geben; MoL *jobaɣa-*, KhalL *zowoox ~* MoL *jobaɣul-*,

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76   Tu. < Pe. *baḫt* fortune, prosperity, felicity, happiness; luck (good or bad); etc. (St 158). Trki *bæχt* [Pe.] luck, fortune, prosperity (Ja64: 50)—VEWT 56a

77   Tu. *tüš* 'dream'; s.i.m.m.l.g. (C72: 559)—VEWT 507a–b

78   Cag. *tüš kör-* 'to dream', lit. 'to see a dream'

79   Cag. *raḥmat qïl-* to pity ← Ar.-Pe. *raḥmat* a gift of the divine mercy; etc. (St 571). Trki *ræhmæt ~ rɛhmɛt ~ rahmat* [Ar.] mercy, gratitude, thanks (Ja64: 259)—VEWT 388a + (↑) *qïl-* · Trki *r. qïl-* to pity (Ja64: 259) ≈ (↑) Tu. *ämgän-*

80   Tu. *ämgät-* caus. of *ämgä-*; 'to cause pain'; survives only(?) in NW KazTat. (C72: 159–160) ≈

KhalL *zowuulax* to torment, torture, make suffer; to perplex, cause grief or sorrow

→ **jobolang** [M S U] ~ *jobalang* [U] ~ *jobalan/g* (Cag. *engäk ~ emgäk*)⁸¹ [A] Beschwer, Belästigung; Schmerz, Leid, (pl.) *jobalangud ~ jobolangud* [U] || Ord. *ǰowoloŋ* souffrance, maladie, difficulté, embarras, *ǰ. oro-* devenir malade; Kalm. *zowlŋ* Pein, Qual, Kummer; MoL *jobalang*, KhalL *zowlon* suffering, torment, torture, anxiety, sadness, melancholy; unhappiness, hardship

→ **[jo]balantu** (MTu *yar*)⁸² poor, miserable [A] || Ord. *ǰowoloŋtō* malade, difficile; Kalm. *zowᵒńĺtē* peinvoll, sich marternd, bekümmert; MoL *jobalangtai*, KhalL *zoblontoǐ* suffering, painful, sad, sorrowful, mournful; troublesome

→ **joboldu-** miteinander leiden [M] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL **jobaldu-*

jonturuq malheur, désastre, calamité [S] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL/Gol *jonduruɣ* spot, dirt

jöng [M A] (Cag. *ǰöŋ*) Weissagung [M] || Ord. *ǰöŋ*, dans: *ǰūde ǰöŋ* rêve, songe; Kalm. *zöŋ* Wahrsagung, Omen; Prophezeiung; MoL *jöng*, KhalL *zön* presage, portent, omen, sign; instinct

→ **jöngle-** wahrsagen, voraussagen [M] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *zöŋnᵊχə* prophezeien, weissagen; MoL *jöngle- ~ jöngne-*, KhalL *zögnöx* to predict, prognosticate, portend, have a presentiment

jügeli [cf. *jüger-*] Opfer für den Himmel mit Fleisch, an e. Stange aufgehängt [M]—dRa04: 281–282 || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Bur. *züweli* (obs.) the hide of a sacrifical animal with the head and legs (raised on a long pole), MoL/Kow *jüküli* mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans (dRa04: 281–282)—Boyle 1965: 147–150, Birtalan 2001: 1002, de Rachewiltz 2013: 55

jüger- (cf. *jügeli*) anbeten, Beschwörungsformeln sprechen [M]—dRa04: 998–999 (glossed 詛 *zu* to curse, imprecate; to invoke the spirits) || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *zökᵒχə* verwünschen, schimpfen und drohen [< Kh.?]; MoL *jükü- ~ jüke-* to curse, swear, scold

→ **jügergen**, in: *jügergen usu* Zauber beschafftes Wasser [M]—de Rachewiltz 2013: 134 ||

kegür Leichnam, Grab [U] || Ord. *kūr*; Kalm. *kūr* Leichnam; Grab, Grabplatz; MoL *kegür*, KhalL *xüür* corpse, dead body; cemetry—MYYC 395

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81   (↑) *emgek*

82   Tu. **yar* → Tu. *yarliɣ* 'poor, destitute', and the like; survives in NC NW (C72: 967)

kelegei (← *kele/n ügei*) (Cag. *kelägäy*) [S U A] qui a le défaut de balbutier
 (S), stumm (U A), *kelegei kibe tǖni* (Cag. *kelägäy qïldï anï*) machte ihn
 sprachlos [A] || Ord. *kélegī* qui articule mal les mots, bègue, muet; Kalm.
 kelkē stotternd, nicht deutlich sprechend; stumm (= der keine Antwort
 findet); MoL *kelegei ~ kele ügei*, KhalL *xelgiǐ* dumb, mute; stammering;
 stuttering, tongue-tied

kijig, in: *kijig ebedcin* Seuchen₂ [Uig. *isig ig*—MoL *kijig ebedcin* contagious
 disease] [U] || Ord. *kejik* maladie contagieuse; Kalm. (Dörbet unbekannt)
 kijïγ Epidemie; MoL *kijig ~ kejig*, KhalL *xižig* epidemic, pestilence,
 infectious desease, infection—Kara 2001: 97, 98

köhe- ~ *kȫ-* (Cag. *köp-*) anschwellen (Kopf, Bauch, Brotsuppe, Wasser) [A][83]
 || Ord. *kȫ-* se gonfler; Kalm. *kȫχǝ* gären, s. heben, schäumen, schwellen;
 MoL *köge-*, KhalL *xööx* to swell, distend, intumesce; to foam—MYYC 370,
 Nugteren 2011: 423

kölci- (Cag. *yïlï-*)[84] to warm (up) [A] || Ord. *kölöči-*, dans: *kölöčiǰi unta-* dormir
 couchés, en sens opposé, l'un à côté de l'autre, chacun ayant les pieds
 placés sous l'aisselle de l'autre (pour ne pas avoir froid); Kalm. *kölčiχǝ* warm
 sein, wärmen; MoL *kölcü- ~ kölci-*, KhalL ∅ to warm; to become warm or
 flushed—Birtalan 2001: 1005

 → **kölcirge-** (AT¹ *kölcürge-*) to fall victim to epidemics [M]—dRa04: 897 ||

künesün Quecksilber [A][85]—For mercury in Uig. medical texts cf. Rachmati
 1930: 458₁₀₈ ||

kür (Cag. *simab*)[86] mercury [A]—Unclear word, translation according to
 Cag.; cf. (↑) *künesün* ||

mer Wunde [M] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *mer* onom. für eine besondere Schmerzemp-
 findung; MoL ∅

mil (Cag. *mil*) probe [A][87] ||

miswak (Cag. *miswak*) dentifice, toothpick [A][88] ||

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83   < Tu. *köp-* 'to swell, foam, boil over'; not noted before XIV; survives in NE SE NC (C72:
       687)?—Berta 1996: 202–205

84   Tu. *yïlï-* 'to be/come warm'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 919)—VEWT 200b

85   < Tu. *könä* occurs only in the phr. *könä suv* 'mercury, quicksilver'; prob. a l.-w.; survives
       only(?) in NW, other languages use Pe. Ru. or Mo. l.-w.s (C72: 726)—Róna-Tas & Berta
       2011: 525–527, VEWT 290a

86   Tu. < Pe. *sīmāb* (St 717). Trki *simap* [Pe.] mercury, quicksilver (Ja64: 274)—VEWT 422a

87   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *mīl* a surgeon's probe (St 1363)—VEWT 338b

88   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Tu. *miswāk* a dentifice, especially one made from a certain kind of tree
       (St 1240)—VEWT 339a–b

muql (Cag. *muql*) bdellium [A][89] ||

naita- to sneeze [M] || Ord. *nātă-*; Kalm. *nătᵉγᵉχᵉ ~ nătχᵉχᵉ*; MoL *nayita- ~ nayitaγa-*, KhalL *naĭtaax* to sneeze—MYYC 498, Nugteren 2011: 451

nilbu- (Cag. *tökür-*)[90] an/speien, spucken [M A] || Ord. *nulmu- cracher*; Kalm. *nułmᵘχᵉ* spucken, ausspeien; MoL *nilbu- ~ nilmu-*, KhalL *nulmax* to spit— MYYC 518

→ **nilbuqda-** angespien werden [M] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL **nilbuγda-*

→ **nilbusu/n** (Cag. *yaš ~ köz yaši*)[91] [M S U A] ~ *nalbusun* (also: *nidün-ü usun*) [A] ~ *nilbu* [A] salive; larme—cf. (↓) *nirbu, nisun* || Ord. *nulmus/u*; Kalm/Dörbet *nułmᵘsṇ* Träne; MoL *nilbusu/n ~ nilmusu/n*; KhalL *nulmas* tears, mucus, spittle—MYYC 518, Nugteren 2011: 457

→ **nilbusula-** (Cag. *yašar-*)[92] [A] || Ord. ∅, but see *nulmusta- ~ nulmusta-* être sufet au larmoiement; Kalm. MoL ∅

nirbu Rotz, Nasenschleim [A] || Ord. *nurwu* dans noms pr. m.; Kalm. MoL ∅

nisun, in: *nisun nilbusun* Tränen, Zähren [M], *nisun* humeur visqueuse qui découle des narines, morve [S A] ?~? *nasun* Exkremente, Kot [A] || Ord. *nusu* mucus nasal, morve; Kalm. *nusṇ* Rotz, Schleim; MoL *nisu/n*, KhalL *nus* nasal mucus—MYYC 519, Nugteren 2011: 458

nödün (AT¹ *nöjin ~ cisun*) Blutklumpen [M]—dRao4: 321 || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *nöji ~ nöjö* caillot de sang; Kalm/Ölet *nöĭγ ~ /Dörbet noĭγ* geronnenes Blut, altes Blut; MoL *nöji*, KhalL *nöž* coagulated blood, blood clot—MYYC 514

nüke/n (Cag. *tešük*, MTu. *qula*)[93] trou (à propos du nez: narine), trombeau [A], (pl.) *nüked* [A]—Li62: 59 || Ord. *nuᵏχe ~ nuᵏχu* trou, enfoncement, terrier, fosse; Kalm. *nükṇ* Loch, Öffnung, Mündung; MoL *nüke/n*, KhalL *nüx* hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice—MYYC 521, Nugteren 2011: 456

→ **nükele-** ein Loch bohren [M] || Ord. *nuᵏχele- ~ nuᵏχule-*; Kalm. *nüklχə* durchbohren, ein Loch machen; MoL *nükele-*, KhalL *nüxlex* to make holes, drill a hole, pierce, perforate

obo·o tertre [S] || Ord. *owō* monceau, pile; obo; mire (de fusil); Kalm. *owā* Kegel, Hügelchen; Steinhaufen an der Wegseite od. auf einem Hügel; MoL *oboγa*, KhalL *owoo* heap, pile, mass; specifically an *obo*, a mound or cairn

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89   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *muql* bdellium, a fragrant Arabian gum-tree (St 1295)

90   Tu. **tökür-* caus. f. fr. *tök-* 'to pour out (a liquid)', hence more generally 'to pray out, scatter' (C72: 477)—Berta 1996: 372–373, VEWT 492b–493a

91   Tu. *yaš* 'running with moisture, tears'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 975–976)—VEWT 192a ≈ *köz yaši* 'moisture, tears of the eye'

92   Tu. *yašar-* den. v. fr. *yaš*; 'to be/come moist' (C72: 979)

93   (↓) *tešük* ≈ Osm. *kula* [Ar.] aphtha, aphthous (Red 683)

of rough stones built as a landmark or monument where special religious ceremonies are performed in honour of the *genius loci*; barrow, tumulus; border mark—Birtalan 2001: 1016–1018; MYYC 523; Nugteren 2011: 465

ongɣun divinité [S], (pl.) *ongɣod*, in: *ötegen eke-te tariyan-u ongɣod-ta* (their sacrifices) to Mother Earth and the gods of grain (dRa82: 61) [U]—dRa04: 251–253, 415 || Ord. *oŋɣon ~ uŋɣun* saint; endroit de sépulture d'un personnage éminent où se pratique un culte public; sacrè, consacré (à une divinité, à l'obo); Kalm. *oŋɣɐn* heilig, göttlich; MoL *ongɣon*, (pl.) *ongɣod*, KhalL *ongon* (shamanistic) spirit inhabiting a material object, genie, guardian spirit, tutelary deity; spirit of a deceased person, ghost; pure, holy, sacred, consecrated; tomb of a saint or an eminent person, family tomb; shamanistic ancestral idol; naturally white hair—Birtalan 2001: 1020–1022; MYYC 528

orocu late-born [M]—The word disappeared from the later literary language, but survives in some dialects (Ra04: 768) || Ord. *oročo* né après le temps normal, tardillon (bétail); Kalm. MoL ∅

otoci [S] ~ *otaci* (Cag. *ḥekim ~ otači*)[94] [A] médecin de la maison impériale, physician[95] || Ord. *otoči* nom d'une divinité lamaique (*sMan-bla*) l'espirit-maître des medicines; Kalm. *otᵒči* Arzt, Medicus (heilt ursp. mit Pflanzen); MoL *otaci/n ~ otoci/n*, KhalL *otoč* physician, doctor; herbalist
→ **otacila-** (Cag. *otla-*)[96] to cure [A] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *otacila-*, KhalL *otočlox* to doctor; to treat or cure medically

ölük tot, in: *ölük yasun* Leichnam [M][97] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *ölög ~ ölöng*, KhalL *ölön/g* starvation, famine, hunger; starving, hungry
→ **ölümle-** (dev. n. ← **ölüm*)[98] to fight to death; to press on (regardless); to strive fiercely [M] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL ∅, but used until the 17th century, f. ex. AT¹/65v and ET/38r (dRa04: 929)

qabar-~ *qabarcuqlan-* (Cag. *qabar-*) to swell [A][99] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

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94   Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *ḥakīm* learned, wise, prudent, judicious; a doctor, philosopher; a physician; etc. (St 427). Trki *hæki:m* philosopher (Ja64: 116)—VEWT 153a ≈ (↓) *otači*

95   < Tu. *otači* dev. n. fr. *ota-*; 'physician'; l.-w. in Mo.; survives only(?) in SW (C72: 44)

96   ≈ (↑) *otla-*

97   < Tu. *ölüg* dev. n. fr. *öl-*; 'dead; a dead person; corpse'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 142)—Berta 1996: 232

98   < Tu. *ölüm* dev. n. fr. *öl-*; 'death'; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 146)—Berta 1996: 233–234 → Tu. **ölümlä-* > Mo., or: Tu. *ölüm* > Mo. → *ölümle-*

99   < Tu. *qabar-* den. v. fr. *qab*; 'to form a blister, vesicle, and the like', more generally 'to swell up'; s.i.a.m.l.g. except NE SE (C72: 585)—VEWT 215a

qabut- ~ *qabud-* ~ *qabad-* (Cag. *qabar-* ~ *šiš-*)[100] to swell [A] || Ord. *χawud-*
se gonfler, s'enfler (se dit d'une partie malade du corps); Kalm. *χawdᵉχᵉ*
~ *χabdᵉχᵉ* an/schwellen; MoL *qabud-*, KhalL *xabdax* to swell, puff—
MYYC 313, Nugteren 2011: 396

→ **qabudar** (Cag. *šišuq*)[101] swelling [A] || Ord. *χawudar* gonflement, enflure;
Kalm. *χawdṛ* ~ *χabdṛ* geschwollen, Geschwulst, die angeschwollene Stelle
(am Körper); MoL *qabudar* ~ *qabudur*, KhalL *xabdar* swelling, tumor—
MYYC 312

qaɣ Wundenschorf [U] || Ord. *χaɣ* crasse, croûte qui couvre une blessure en
voie de guérison; Kalm. *χaɣ* Schmutz, Unreinigkeit; MoL *qaɣ*, KhalL *xag*
dirt sticking to something, especially the body; scale, scab; dandruff, scurf;
soot, dust; dross, slag; salt march, salty mud; moss on trees, lichen; placenta
of animals—MYYC 316

qala·un (dev. n. ← *qala-) [M S P] ~ *qalaɣun* [U] ~ *qalaun* (MTu. *isi/g*, Cag.
isiq ~ *isiɣ* ~ *isiqliqni* ~ *temuz*)[102] [A] ~ *qalawun* [A] ~ *qalūn* [A] (dev. n. ←
*qala-) heiß, warm, brennend; Hitze; Entzündung; Mutterschoß—Li62:
41, 42 || Ord. *χalūn* chaud, brûlant, chacune des trois (ou cinq) périodes de
dix jours de grande chaleur; échauffant; compatriote; Kalm. *χalūn* heiß,
brennend; MoL *qalaɣun*, KhalL *xaluun* hot (also of taste); warm; intimate;
heat, warmth; fever [← MoL *qala-*, KhalL *xalax* to be/come or feel warm
or hot (not used of weather); to be/come warmed up or heated up (as
through intoxication or over an argument)]—MYYC 319, 321; Nugteren
2011: 402

→ **qalūca-** ~ *qala·uca-* ~ *qalawuca-* ~ *qalauca-* (Cag. *isit-* ~ *äsir-*)[103] to have
fever; to be/come drunk [A] || Ord. *χalūči-* avoir trop chaud; s'irriter par
suite de la chaleur (peau des plis du corps); se détériorer par la chaleur
(p. ex. viande, peau); Kalm. *χalūcχᵉ* es heiss haben (von Menschen und
Tieren), erhitzt werden; MoL *qalaɣuca-*, KhalL *xaluucax* to feel hot; to
suffer from heat

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100 (↑) Tu. *qabar-* ≈ Tu. *siš-* 'to swell'; orig. w. -*i̇*-, later w. -*i*-; s.is.m.l. (C72: 857)—Berta 1996:
318–320, VEWT 424a

101 Tu. **sišuq* dev. n. fr. *siš-*; 'swelling'—Berta 1996: 319–320

102 Tu. *isig* dev. n. fr. *isi-*; 'hot, heat'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 246)—VEWT 173b ≈ Tu. *isiglik* Hitze,
Fieberhitze, Fieber (Berta 1996: 162–163) ≈ Ar.-Pe. *tamūz* the Syrian month July; summer;
violent heat (St 325)

103 Tu. *isit-* caus. f. fr. *isi-*; 'to heat (sth.)', 'to suffer from fever'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 243) ≈ Tu. *äsür-*
'to be/come, drunk, intoxicated', 'to be mad'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 251)—VEWT 50b

→ **qalawut-** heiß werden [A] || Ord. *χalūda-* souffrir d'un échauffement; Kalm. *χalūdᵉχɐ* heiss sein, zu heiss sein; MoL *xalaγud-*, KhalL *xaluudax* to be/come hot; to suffer from heat

→ **qalawutqa-** (Cag. *ïsit-* ~ *qïzït-*)[104] heiß machen, er/wärmen [A] || Ord. *χalūdā-* soumettre à l'action de la chaleur; Kalm. ∅; MoL *qalaγudqa-*, KhalL *xaluutgax* to make hot; to warm, heat

qalja bouffon, facétieux (Ar. *al-ḍaḥka* laugh, laughter) [A] ||

→ **qaljū** wahnsinnig [A]—Li62: 42 || Ord. *γaljū* fou, enragé; qui a un caractère violent et emporté; qui est d'une ardeur excessive [cheval]; sobriquet qu'on donne à une femme acariâtre et criarde; Kalm. *γalzū* wütend, toll, vernunftlos; rabies; MoL *γaljaγu ~ γaljiγu*, KhalL *galzuu* rabid, insane; possessed by a demon; frenzied, enraged; violent, tempestuous; hydrophobia, rables—MYYC 280, Nugteren 2011: 337

→ **qaljūra-** to become insane, rabid, in: *γaljūraba noqai* the dog was rabid (≈ Cag. *bu qoturγan it* ~ MoL *γaljaγuraγsan noqai* rabid dog) [A] || Ord. *γaljūra-* devenir fou, devenir enragé; se démener; s'emporter (cheval fougueux); Kalm. *γalzūrχɐ* wütend werden, wüten; MoL *γaljaγura-*, KhalL *galzuurax* to be/come rabid, enraged; to fly into a rage; to be/come insane—MYYC 280

qana- stechen; ablassen (Blut) [M][105] || Ord. *χana-* tirer du sang en ouvrant une veine, saigner, pratiquer une saignée; Kalm. *χanᵉχɐ* zur Ader lassen; MoL *qana-*, Khal *xanax* to open a vein; to bleed—MYYC 325

qanā- husten [A] || Ord. *χanā-*; Kalm. *χańāχɐ*; MoL *qaniya-*, KhalL *xaniax* to cough—MYYC 327, Nugteren 2011: 404

→ **qanād-** husten [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **qaniadu** (MTu. *öksimek*)[106] cough [A] || Ord. *χanādu ~ χanāt* petite maladie, indisposition; Kalm. *χańādṇ* Husten; Brustkrankheit, Lungenkrankheit; MoL *qaniyad ~ qaniyadu/n ~ qaniyadum*, KhalL *xaniad* cough; grippe, influenza—MYYC 327

qojigir (MTu. *qotur*) mangy [A]—or: (↑) *dulangir* || Ord. *χojigir* teigneux; Kalm. *χojᵗγɐr* kahlköpfig, Glatzkopf; MoL *qojigir ~ qojiγar*, KhalL *xožgor* bald; bald head or spot—MYYC 357

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104 (↑) Tu. *isit-* ≈ Tu. *qïzït-* caus. f. fr. *qïz-* 'to be red'; (i) 'to be red hot', (ii) 'to be red' (with anger, shame, etc.); s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 681)—Berta 1996: 254–257, VEWT 269a

105 < Tu. *qana-* den. v. fr. *qan*; 'to bleed (a patient, animal, etc.)'; l.-w. in Mo.; s.i.a.m.l.g., reborrowings in NE (C72: 634)—VEWT 230a

106 Tu. **ägsümäk* dev. n. fr. *ägsü-* 'to be/come defective, deficient, lacking', and the like; survives in SE NC SW (C72: 117)

qolu- trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion [S U] || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *χolχɐ*
wund/reiben, abreiben, massieren; MoL *qolγu- ~ qoluγa-*, KhalL *xolgox*
to injure or damage by constant rubbing; to cause to form blisters or sores
by rubbing

→ **qoluγda-** wund gerieben werden [U] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

qonqaq dandruff, in: *hekinü qonqaq* (Cag. *baš qonqaqi*) dandruff [≈ MoL
toloγai-yin qaγ] [A][107] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

qor (Cag. *ziyan ~ qor ~ χor*)[108] [M S U A] ~ *qoro* [U] ~ *qoor* [U] Unheil,
Verderben; Verlust, Nachteil, Schaden[109] vs. *qoro/n* [M] ~ *γora* [A] ~ *qora*
(MTu. Cag. *aγu*)[110] [A] Gift, (pl.) *qoron* (Uig. *aγu-lar*) [U] ~ *qoros* [U] ||
Ord. *χor* mal ~ *χoro* mal, tort, détriment, poison, colère; Kalm. *χorṇ* Gift;
bitteres (Getränk, Schicksal); Unglück, Elend, Schande, Schaden; MoL *qour*
~ *qour-a*, KhalL *xor* harm, evil, malice; embitterment; poison—MYYC 365,
Nugteren 2011: 419–420

→ **qorotu** giftig ~ *qoortu* schädlich [U] || Ord. *χorotȫ ~ χorotu* qui est en
colère; qui est porté à la colère, colèrique; inspiré par la colère ~ *χorotu* qui
contient du poison, vénéneux, venimeux, pernicieux; Kalm. *χortē ~ χortᵒ*
giftig; schändlich, schädlich; MoL *qooratu ~ qooratai ~ qoortai*, KhalL *xort ~*
xortoĭ harmful, poisonous; pernicious, injurious; malicious, wicked

→ **qortan** schädliche [U] || MoL *qooratan*, KhalL *xorton* evil doer/s,
damager/s, wrecker/s

qujir- (AT¹ ∅) vergiften [M] ||

qulunc (Cag. *qulunč*) cholic, lumbago [A][111] ||

quluqana [M S P] ~ *qulaγana* [U] ~ *qulγuna* (Cag. *sičqan*)[112] [A] ~ *qulquna*
(MTu. *sičan*) [A] ~ *qulγana* (year of the) rat; mouse [A] (or A all: *qulu°*) ||
Ord. *χuluγuna* rat, souris; n. pr. f.; Kalm. *χulγᵉnɐ* Maus; das erste Tierbild
der Ekliptik, *χ. yarɐ ~ χ. öwčṇ* Krebs (Krankheit); MoL *quluγan-a*, KhalL
xulgana mouse, rat; the first year in the cycle of twelve, Khal/B *xulgana yar*
scrofula—MYYC 388, Nugteren 2011: 432

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107   < Tu. · Osm. *qoŋaq ~ qonaq* Hautschuppen auf dem Kopf, Grind, etc. (VEWT 280a)

108   Tu. < Pe. *ziyān* damage, detriment, deficiency, prejudice, injury, fraud (St 632). Trki *zia:n ~*
ziya:n [Pe.] loss, damage (Ja64: 337)—VEWT 531b ≈ (↓) *qor*

109   < Tu. *qor* 'loss, damage', and the like; survives in NE (C72: 641–642)

110   Tu. *aγu* 'poison'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 78)—VEWT 9a

111   Mo. < (Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *qaulanj ~ qaulinj ~ qūlinj ~ qūlānj ~ qūlanj* cholic, lumbago; etc. (St
995, 1063). Osm. *kulunç* [Ar.] (i) colic, cramp; (ii) stiff neck, (iii) lumbago (Red 684)

112   Tu. *sičγan* generic word for both 'rat' and 'mouse'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 796)—VEWbT 414

sacu- [M U] ~ *saci-* (Cag. *sač-*) [U A] ~ *caci-* (Cag. *säp-* ~ *säb-* ~ *sač-* ~ *sačaš-*)[113] [A] hochwerfen, verstreuen, ausstreuen, ausschütten; opfern, weihen[114] || Ord. *ǰaču-* répandre çà et là, jeter çà et là un liquide sous forme de gouttes, asperger; Kalm. *cacᴱχɐ* besprengen, besprühen, streuen, auseinanderspritzen; MoL *sacu-* ~ *cacu-*, KhalL *sacax* ~ KhalL/H *cacax* to sow, strew, scatter, spread; to sprinkle, spray—Nugteren 2011: 480

→ **cacil-** (Cag. *sačaɣlan-*)[115] [A] || Ord. *ǰačula-* répandre çà et là (action répétée); Kalm. *caclχɐ* (immerfort) spritzen, besprengen, sreuen (Wasser, Körner u.a.); MoL *sacul-* ~ *sacula-*, KhalL *saculax* to scatter, spread, spill, spray, sprinkle

→ **saculi** Streuopfer, Libation [M U] || Ord. *ǰačuli* ~ *sačuli* action de répandre un liquide sous forme de gouttes comme offrande; aspersion (cérémonie religieuse); Kalm. *cacḷ* Sprengopfer für die verschiedenen Götter der Himmelsgegenden; MoL *saculi*, KhalL *sacalь* aspersion or libation of milk or tea for the deities; grain and food scattered as offerings to deities—Birtalan 2001: 958

šarqira- (Cag. *šaqïldïla-* ~ *šarïlda-*) [A] || Ord. *šarᵏχira-* éprouver une douleur lancinante; Kalm. *šarklχɐ* ~ *šarkⁱlχɐ*, od. *šarkrχɐ* ~ *šarkⁱrχɐ* Reissen (in den Gliedern), Schmerzen (die Knochen), wehtun, Schmerzen haben; MoL *šarkira-* ~ *sirkira-* ~ *sirkire-*, KhalL *šarxirax* to bite, sting (as pain or sensation produced by eating hot pepper, etc.); to feel pain as from rheumatism

→ **šarqirawul-** (Cag. *šarqïldat-*) [A] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL **šarkiraɣul-*

sayiqa (den. n. ← *sayi/n*) [M] ~ *sayiqan* (Cag. *čečäk*)[116] [U P A] (i) gut, trefflich; hübsch (M U P), (ii) Pocken, Blattern (taboo word) (A) || [Ord. *ǰičik* fleur; petite vérole; n. pr. f.; Kalm. *cecɘg öwčṇ* Pocken; MoL *ceceg* ~ *cicig* ~ *seceg*, KhalL *ceceg* (ii) anything suggestive of or resembling a flower; smallpox; etc.]—Ord. *sā̄χan* joli, agréable, aimable, beau, bon, bien; ami; exactement, juste, tout juste, précisément; Kalm. *sā̄χɐn* fein, hübsch; sehr

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113   Tu. *säp* 'to scatter (solid matter, e.g. seed), to sow; to sprinkle (liquids), to irrigate', practically syn. w. *sač-*; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 784)—VEWT 410b ≈ (↑) *sač-* ≈ *sačïš-* co-op. f. of *sač-*; s.i.s.m.l. (C72: 798)

114   < Tu. *sač-* 'to scatter, sprinkle', and the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 794)—Berta 1996: 278–280, VEWT 392a

115   Tu. *sačɣaq* dev. n. fr. *sač-*; 'constantly scattering' (C72: 796)—Berta 1996: 278–279 → **sačɣaqla-* den. v. fr. *sačɣaq* → **sačɣaqlan-* dev. v. (refl.) fr. **sačɣaqla-*

116   Tu. *čečäk* 'flower', metaph. 'a skin eruption', esp. 'smallpox'; l.-w. in Mo.; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 400–401)

gut; MoL *sayiqan*, KhalL *saǐxan* nice/ly, good looking, fine, beautiful/ly; well; exactly—MYYC 589, Nugteren 2011: 480

sil, in: *sil ebecin* (Cag. *sil aɣrïq*) tuberculosis [A][117] ||

simi- [M] ~ *šime-* (Cag. *sor-*)[118] [A] saugen (das Blut aus der Wunde) [M] || Ord. *šime-*; Kalm. *šimᵊχə* aus/saugen; MoL *sime- ~ simi-*, KhalL *šimex* to draw a liquid into the mouth, suck up or in; to sip; to suck (as candy)— MYYC 717, Nugteren 2011: 496

simnu, (pl.) *šimnus ~ simnus* unheilvoller Dämon [U][119] || Ord. *šulmu/s* esprit malfaisant qui prend une forme humaine ou une forme animale, *šulmus eme* diablesse (injure à l' adresse d' une femme); Kalm. *šulm̥ ~ šulmᵘ* Teufel, ein böser Geist, (pl.) *šulmᵘs* die bösen Geister; MoL *simnu/s ~ silmu/s*, KhalL *šumna/s* demon, evil spirit; Māra (in Buddhism), MoL *em-e simnu/s* female evil spirit, she-devil—Birtalan 2001: 1043–1044, MYYC 727

šinjile- [U] ~ *šincile-* [P] (den. v. ← *šinci ~ šinji*) to investigate, examine || Ord. *šinǰile-* examiner, observer; Kalm. *šinǰ̥lχə* untersuchen, ausforschen; auswählen; deuten (ein Omen), wahrsagen; MoL *sinjile-*, KhalL *sinžlex* to investigate, examine; to do research, study

→ **sinjilegde-** [U] | ~ *šincilegde-* [P] to be scrutinized, examined || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL **sinjilegde-*

sirbusun [M U] ~ *sirbüsü/n* (Cag. MTu. *siŋir*)[120] [A] ~ *širbüsün* [S A] ~ *šü[r]bü[s]* [S] tendon, nerve, sinew, (bow)string—Li62: 64 || Ord. *šörwös/ɯ*; Kalm. *šürw̥sṇ ~ širwūsṇ ~ širūsṇ* die Sehnen, Nerven; MoL *sirbüsü/n ~ sirmüsü/n*, KhalL *šörwes* nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament—MYYC 723, Nugteren 2011: 497

sirqa- verletzen, schädigen [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *šarχa* blessure, plaie, ulcère; Kalm. *šarχɐ* Wunde (im allgem.); MoL *sirq-a/n*, KhalL *šarx* wound; sore; injury; (→) MoL *sirqad-*, KhalL *šarxtax*; (→) Ord. *šarχala-* examiner les blessures; Kalm. ∅; MoL *sirqala-*, KhalL *šarxlax* to be/come wounded or injured; to examine a wound—Nugteren 2011: 493

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117   Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *sill* (in Pe. *sil*) ~ *sull* ulceration of the lungs; consumption; a hectic fever (St 691). Uyɣ. *sil* (med.) consumption, *öpkä sili* pulmonary tuberculosis [Özb. *sil*] (Schwarz 1992: 506)

118   Tu. *sor-* 'to suck (sth.); to suck up, or out (sth.)'; l.-w. in Mo.; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 843–844)— VEWT 429b

119   < Uig. *sïmnu ~ smnu* (Kara 2001: 110)—Sogd. *šmnw* [šmanu] Ahriman, demon; Satan, the devil (Gharib 9291–9295)

120   Tu. *siŋir* 'muscle, sinew'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 841)—VEWT 423a

→ **sirqada-** ~ *širqada-* to be wounded [U] || Ord. *šarχata-* recevoir une blessure; Kalm. *šarχɐdᵛχɐ* (i) verwundet werden, mit Wunden bedeckt sein, (ii) verwunden; MoL *sirqad-*, KhalL *šarxtax* to be wounded or injured

soqor [M] ~ *soγor* [A] ~ *soqar* (Cag. *kör*, MTu. *köz-siz*)[121] ~ *soγar* [A] ~ *suqur* [S] blind, one-eyed—dRa04.236, 240, 563; Li62: 64 || Ord. *soχor*; Kalm. *soχǫρ*; MoL *soqor*, KhalL *soxor* blind—Birtalan 2001: 1041, MYYC 510, Nugteren 2011: 500

sudasu/n (Cag. MTu. *tamur*)[122] [S A] ~ *sudusun* [A] ~ *sidis* [A] veine, artère—Li62: 65 || Ord. *sudasu* artère, veine, pouls; Kalm. *sudᵛsṇ* ~ *sutsṇ* Puls, Ader; MoL *sudasu/n*, KhalL *sudas* vein, artery—MYYC 612, Nugteren 2011: 505

sünesün Seele [U] || Ord. *sunes/u* âme; Kalm. *sümsüṇ* ~ *sünsṇ* Seele, Schattenseele; MoL *sünesü/n*, KhalL *süns/en* the animating principle, roughly corresponding to soul or spirit—Birtalan 2001: 1045–1046, Nugteren 2011: 508

sürme (Cag. *sürmä*) antimony, collyrium [A][123] ||

talbi- (Cag. *qoy-* ~ *qoyul-* ~ *sal-* ~ *sač-* ~ *iǰāzet ber-*)[124] [M S U P A] ~ *tabi-* (Cag. *qoy-*) [A] lassen, zurücklassen; frei-, loslassen; hinlegen; aufhängen; ein/setzen (Beamte); stellen, beseitigen—dRa04: 269 || Ord. *tȧwi-* ~ *tawi-* lâcher, lâcher prise, mettre en liberté, relâcher, mettre au pâturage, laisser dans le même état, conserver, laisser croître (cheveux, crins etc.), décharger une arme à feu, lancer au galop, livrer à la colonisation chinoise (terres mongoles), mettre, placer, offrir (offrande etc.), déposer, mettre de côtè, mettre en réserve, placer à intérêts, auxiliaire d'achèvement; Kalm. *tatwιχɐ* (veralt.) ~ *täwχɐ* ent/lassen, freigeben, hinlegen, hinstellen; MoL *talbi-* ~ *tabi-*, KhalL *tawix* [concrete sense] (i) to place, put, set, lay down; to install; (ii) to set free, release, let loose; [abstract sense] (i) to establish,

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121   Tu. < Pe. *kūr* 'blind; one-eyed; blind in a moral sense' (St 1060). Trki *ko:r* [Pe.] 'blind' (Ja64: 175)—VEWT 292a ≈ Tu. *közsüz* den. n. fr. *köz*; 'without eyes, blind'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 762)

122   Tu. *tamar* ~ *tamïr* 'vein, artery'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 508)—VEWT 460a

123   < Tu. *sürmä* dev. n. fr. *sür-*; 'antimony, collyrium'; s.i.m.m.l.g. (C72: 852)—Berta 1996: 312–316

124   Tu. *qoḏ-* prob. dev. v. fr *qo-*; originally 'to put down, abandon, give up', thence 'to put' and the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 595–596)—Berta 1996: 169–170, VEWT 274b ≈ *qoyul-* (*qoḏul-*) pass fr. *qoy-* (*qoḏ-*); 'to be placed'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 877)—Berta 1996: 270 ≈ Tu. *sal-* 'to move (sth.), to put into motion', implication of violent motion, wide range of extended meaning; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 824)—VEWT 397a ≈ (↑) *sač-* ≈ *iǰāzet ber-* ← Ar.-Pe. *iǰāzat* giving leave; permission, dispensation; sanction, approval; discharge, dismissal; license; passport (St 17). Trki *ija:zɛt* [Ar.] permission (to leave) (Ja64: 138) + Tu. *ber-* 'to give'; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 354–355)—Berta 1996: 76–79, VEWT 70b · Trki *ija:zɛt ber-* to allow, give way to (Ja64: 138)

arrange; to appoint; (ii) to offer, exhibit, demonstrate, express, present, declare; to issue; (iii) to yield, give in—Nugteren 2011: 510–511

→ **talbira-** to abate (illness) [M]—dRa04: 996 || Ord. *táwira- ~ tawira-* se relâcher, diminuer d'intensité, se dégeler (rivière); Kalm. ∅; MoL *talbira-*, KhalL *talbirax* to be relieved; to calm down (after a fit of anger); to relax (after worry); to decrease (of cold); to thaw (of a frozen river)

taqulid- (den. v. ← **taqul*) to be sick [U] || [Ord. *öwöčin daɣul* maladie; Kalm/Ölet *taχᵉl* Epidemie, gefährliche Kinderkrankheit; MoL *taqul*, KhalL *taxal* mass disease, epidemic; children's diseases, MoL *taqul ebedcin* disease, epidemic; KhalL/B *taxal* (i) plague, (ii) epidemic] → Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *taqulid-*, KhalL *taxaltax* to be ill (of children); to contract an epidemic disease—MYYC 628

tata- (Cag. *tart- ~ tartïl- ~ čiqar-*, MTu. *äsil-*)[125] ziehen, reißen; zur Konkubine machen; sparen, zurückhalten; hochziehen, (an d. Hand führen) aufziehen; zurückziehen (Zügel); mäßigen (Verhalten); festziehen, festbinden (Pferdelasten); rauben, wegnehmen, entführen, entwenden; mahlen, zermalmen; ausbreiten, erstrecken, ausdehnen [M S U P A] || Ord. *data-* tirer, attirer, retirer, tendre (cord, fil), soustraire, peser (au moyen d'une balance romaine); moudre; tirer des sons d'un instrument de musique à vent, à archet; confisquer; courir rapidement à cheval, serrer (p. ex. une sous-ventrière); se dit encore de la production de divers phénomènes atmosphériques (brouillard, arc-en-ciel, etc.), de la formation de traînées lumineuses etc., et s'entend en outre dans une foule d'expressions; Kalm. *tatχɐ* ziehen, spannen, anstraffen etc.; MoL *tata-*, Kh. *tatax* (concrete:) to draw, pull, drag, twitch, stretch, attract; draw (a line); to install something long; to play (a musical instrument); to inhale; to chop or grind (as meat); (abstract:) to attract, adduce, win over to one's side; to subtract; to arouse; to restrain; to exact, extort, levy, draft—MYYC 627, Nugteren 2011: 514

→ **tataɣul-** [U] || Ord. *datūl-* caus. de *data-*; Kalm. **tatūlχɐ*; MoL **tataɣul-*

→ **tatūr** Binde, Verband [A] || Ord. *datūr* objet qui sert à tirer; cordons servant à serrer une bourse; Kalm. *tatūr* (iii) der hintere Sattelgurt, Bauchriemen, (vi) Zugriemen, Strick, womit die Last festgezogen wird; MoL *tataɣur*, KhalL *tatuur* anything which draws or is drawn; drawer (in a

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125 Tu. *tart-* 'to pull, or drag (sth.)', many extended meanings; s.ia.m.l.g. (C72.534–535)—Berta 1996: 334–336, VEWT 465a ≈ Tu. *tartïl-* pass. of *tart-*; s.i.m.m.l. (C72: 536) ≈ Tu. *čiqar-* caus. of *čiq-*; 'to bring out, send out', and the like; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 410)—Berta 1996: 132–136 ≈ Tu. *äsil-* pass. f. of *äs-*; 'to be stretched, to stretch (intrans.)' (C72: 247)

table); front piece of a woman's hair ornament; purse string; oar; towrope; arm of a river

→ **tataldu-** (Cag. *küč ber-*)[126] [A] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *tataldu-*, KhalL *tataldax* to pull back and forth; to twitch; to pull (of clothes)

tešik (Cag. *debbä*)[127] hernia, rupture [A][128]—cf. (↑) *nüke/n* ||

tö·üne ~ *tö·ene* ~ *tȫne* (Cag. *tügän*) cauterization [A][129] || Ord. *tȫn* cautère; Kalm. *tȫnö* das Brennen, Sengen der Wunde (als Heilmittel); MoL *tögene* ~ *tönö*, KhalL *töönö* cauterization; moxa; a cauterizing instrument; a poultice—MYYC 643, Nugteren 2011: 523

tölge (Cag. *fal* ~ *jöng* ~ *qurʻa*)[130] Los, Wahrsagestäbchen [M A] || Ord. *tölgö* art divinatoire, opération par laquelle le devin découvre quelque chose de caché; instrument qui sert à la divination; Kalm. *tölgə* Wahrsagerei, das Wahrsagen mit Knochen, Würfeln, Pfeilen; MoL *tölge*, KhalL *tölök* fortune-telling, divination; device used for divination; omen, portent—MYYC 646

→ **tölgeci** Wahrsager [S], (pl.) *tölgecin* [M]—dRa04: 994–995 || Ord. *tölgöči/n* devin; Kalm. *tölgʻči* (selt.) Zeichendeuter, Wahrsager; MoL *tölgeci/n*, KhalL *tölögč* diviner, fortuneteller

→ **tölgele-* das Los werfen (zum Wahrsagen) [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *tölgödö-* devenir au moyen d'une omoplate de mouton ou de chèvre, au moyen de sapèques etc.; Kalm. ∅; MoL *tölgede-*, KhalL *tölögdöx* to divine, practise divination

→ **tölgele·ül-** das Los werfen lassen [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

tulunɣuila-, in: *tulunɣuilaqui* Krätze [A]—see (↑) *dulangir* ||

tuma·u (Cag. *tumaq*) a cold in the head [A][131] || Ord. *tumū* rhume de cerveau, indisposition, petite maladie; Kalm. *tomū* Erkältung, Schnupfen; MoL *tumuɣu/n*, KhalL *tomuu* cold, head cold; influenza; inflammation— MYYC 640

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126 Tu. *küč ber-* '(sein) Kraft geben' = 'dienen', 'dem Herrscher gegenüber die Pflicht erfüllen, ihn unterstützen' (Doerfer 1993) ← Tu. *küč* 'strength (physical or abstract)'; l.-w. in Mo.; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 693) + (↑) *ber-*

127 Tu. < Pe. *daba* rupture (St 503). Uyɣ. *dawa* hernia [Özb. *dabba*] (Schwarz 1992: 256)— VEWT 134a

128 < Tu. *täšük* dev. n. fr. *täš-*; lit. 'pierced', usually 'hole, cavity, opening', and the like; s.i.m.m.l. (C72: 565)—VEWT 476b

129 < Tu. *tögün* 'a brand'; survives only(?) in SW (C72: 484)

130 Tu. < Ar.-Pe. *faʼl* ~ *fāl* an omen, augury, presage; etc. (St 905). Trki *faːl* [Ar.] omen (Ja64: 100)—VEWT 143a ≈ (↑) *jöng* ≈ Ar.-Pe. *qurʻa/t* a dice; a throw of dice; drawing lots, a lottery, raffle, ballot; the seeking of one's fortune by opening a book; bibliomancy (St 965). Trki *quræ* [Ar.] lot (Ja64: 256)

131 < Tu. *tumaɣu* dev. n. fr. **tuma-*; 'a cold in the head'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 505)—VEWT 498b

tumar (Cag. *tumar*) amulet-case [A][132] ||

turu- abmagern [M A][133] || Ord. *turu-* maigrir; Kalm. *turχe* mager, hager werden, abmagern; MoL *tura-*, KhalL *turax* to be/come lean, emaciated; to loose weight; to be/come] exhausted, worn out—MYYC 653, Nugteren 2011: 525

→ **turqada**- (Cag. *aruqla- ~ ariqla- ~ aruq bol-*)[134] [A] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *turaqanda-*, KhalL *turxandax* to be too thin, lean, or emaciated

→ **turqadawul**- (Cag. *aruqlat- ~ aruq qïl-*)[135] [A] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **turuqan** [M S U A] ~ *duruqon* [S] mager, (pl.) *turuqat* [M] ~ *turuγan* [A] ~ *turγan* (or: *turuγan*) [A] ~ *turqan* (or: *turuqan*) (Cag. MTu. *aruq* ~ Cag. *aruγ*) [A]—dRa04: 1339; Li62: 70 || Ord. ∅; Kalm. *turχū* mager, hager; MoL *turaqan*, KhaL *turxan* thin, lean, emaciated—MYYC 653

umai, in: *umai kindik* Nabel [A][136] || Ord. *umā* matrice, vagin; MoL *umai*, KhalL *umaï* matrix, womb—Birtalan 2001: 1056 (Erd- und Fruchtbarkeits-göttin, Beschützerin der Mütter und Kinder, deren Kult unter den zentralasiatischen türkischen Völkern sehr verbreitet war)

huni/n (AT¹ *üni*) smoke [M S A] ~ *hünin* eine bestimmte Abgabe, Preis [U A]—*huni* poles of the tent [A] (??), in: *üge huni qori·an keleksen* [Cag. *söz kim tïnarda sözlär*] word/s spoken at death [A]—dRa04: 637–638, Li62: 34 · The compound *huni qori·an* is not clear, according to Cag. *tïnarda* it means 'at death' || (i) EMoL *füni* smoke (Apatóczky 2009: 98), *hünin moniyar* mist, vapour, smoke (Apatóczky 2016: 104); Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅, but cf. Ord. *unār/i* vapeurs qui sous l' action du soleil montent du sol, léger brouillard, signe précurseur de certains phénomènes atmosphériques;

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132 Mo. (< Tu.) < Pe. *tūmār* an amulet-case (of gold or silver) which they suspend round the necks of children (St 322)—Trki *tuma:* (~ *tuma·r* ~ *tumar*) [Pe.] an amulet-case (Ja64: 315)

133 < Tu. *tur-* 'to be/come, weak or emaciated'; l.-w. in Mo.; survives in NE (C72: 530)— VEWT 489b, 500b

134 Tu. *aruqla-* den. v. fr. *aruq*; 'to be weak, emaciated'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 219–220)—Berta 1996: 44–45 ≈ Tu. *aruq bol-* 'to be/come weak, emaciated' ← Tu. *aruq* dev. n. fr. *ar-*; 'tired out, exhausted', 'emaciated, weak for the lack of food'; s.i.a.m.l.g., norm. *arïq* (C72: 214)—Berta 1996: 43–44, VEWT 22a + Tu. *bol-* orig. 'to become (sth.)', in contrast to *är-* 'to be (sth.)'. From a very early date *bol-* began to loose its distinctive character and verge towards 'to be', and when some tenses of *är-* became obsolete they were usually replaced by *bol-*. C.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 331–332)—Berta 1996: 94–98, VEWT 79b

135 Tu. **aruqlat-* caus. of *aruqla-*; 'to let be weak' ≈ Tu. *aruq qïl-* 'to make weak, to weaken' ← (↑) *aruq* + (↑) *qïl-*

136 < Tu. *umay* originally 'placenta, afterbirth'; also used as the name of the (only?) Tu. goddess, whose particular function was to look after women and children; survives, more or less in the second meaning, in NE (C72: 164–165)—VEWT 513b

Kalm. *uńār* Sonnenrauch, Nebel; MoL *uniyar* ~ *üniyer*, KhalL *uniar* mist, haze; vapor? (ii) Ord.∅? Kalm. *uńņ* ~ *uńn* die Zeltstangen, die die Dachfilze tragen, Dachstäbe; MoL *uni/n*, KhalL *unь* poles of a yurt between the *qan-a* and the *toɣunu*—MYYC 676

→ **hunitu**, in *hunitu bol-* (Cag. *tütünlä-*)[137] to smoke [A] ||

ḫuqna (Cag. *ḫuqna*) enema (medical treatmet) [A][138] ||

hü·üsün (dev. n. ← **hü·ü-*) [M] ~ *hasun* (read: *hēsün*) [A] ~ *husan* (read: *hūsen*) [A] Eiter || MoL *ügesün* [*ögesü/n*]; KhalL ∅ pus ≈ Ord. *ȫrö* ~ *nȫrö* pus, sanie, chassie; Kalm. *ȫrᵗ* Eiter; MoL *ögeri*, KhalL/B *öör* ~ *ügeer* pus, matter, suppuration (→ Ord. ∅; Kalm. *ȫrdᵊχə* eitern, eitrig sein; MoL *ögeride-* ~ *ögerile-*, KhalL ∅ to form pus, suppurate)—Nugteren 2011: 371

hükdere- (AT¹ *ügdere-*) wieder aufbrechen (Wunde) [M] || Ord. *ugdere-* ~ *udere-* avoir une rechute, rechuter; Kalm. *ügdrχə* ganz müde werden (von vielem gehen od. reisen); MoL *üdere-* ~ *ügdere-*, KhalL *üdrex* ~ *ügdrex* to have a relapse; to be very tired

ükü- [M U P A] ~ *ügü-* [S] (Cag. *öl-*)[139] to die, pass away || Ord. *uᵏχu-*; Kalm. *ükᵘχə* sterben; MoL *ükü-*, KhalL *üxex*—MYYC 698, Nugteren 2011: 540

→ **üküdel** ~ *hüküdel* (MTu. *sïn*)[140] Grab; Friedhof [A] || Ord. *ukudel* cadavre; Kalm. *ükᵘdļ* das Sterben; toter Mensch, Leichnam (= *ükēr*); EMoL *üküdel* graveyard (Ligeti 1974: 492–493; Poppe 1967: 117); MoL *üküdel*, KhalL *üxdel* dead body, corpse—MYYC 698

→ **üküger** [U] ~ *ükēr* (Cag. *ölük* ~ *ölüm*)[141] [A] Leichnam || Ord. *uᵏχᵘer*; Kalm. *ükēr* Leichnam; MoL *üküger* ~ *ükeger*, KhalL *üxeer* dead body, corpse

→ **ükü·ül-** (Cag. *helāk qïl-*)[142] [M A] ~ *ügü·ül-* [S] sterben lassen, töten, hinrichten || Ord. *uᵏχul-* faire ou laisser mourir; Kalm. ∅; MoL *ükügül-*, KhalL *üxüülex* to allow or cause to die; to contribute to the death of, lead to death or destruction; to kill

→ **ükü·ülde-** getötet, hingerichtet werden [M] || Ord. Kalm. MoL ∅

→ **ükü·üli** Veranlassung zum Tode, Todesgefahr [M] || MoL **ükügüri*

→ **ükükde-** sterben, d. Tod erleiden [M] || MoL **ükügde-*

137 Tu. **tütünlä-* den. v. ← Tu. *tütün* dev. n. *tütä-*; 'smoke'; s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 457–458)—VEWT 507b

138 Mo. (< Tu.) < Ar.-Pe. *ḫuqna/t* a clyster, enema (St 425). Trki *hoqnæ* enema (Ja64: 122)

139 Tu. *öl-* 'to die'; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72: 125–126)—Berta 1996: 229–234, VEWT 371a

140 Tu. ²*sïn* 'tomb'; survives only in SW Osm. *sin* ?vs./≈/→/←? Tu. ¹*sïn* orig. 'the human body', hence 'stature, height, external appearance', and the like. Survives in NE SE NC NW, in some 'statue', esp. on a grave (C72: 832)—VEWT 422

141 (↑) *ölüg*, *ölüm*

142 *helāk qïl-* 'to cause ruin, destruction; to ruin, destruct' ← (↑) *helāk* + (↑) *qïl-*

→ **ükül** (Cag. *helāk ~ ölmäk ~ ölüm*)[143] [U A] ~ *ukül* [U] Tod || Ord. *ukχul*
mort, maladie contagieuse mortelle, épidémie, épizootie; Kalm. *ükḷ* Tod,
Viehseuche; MoL *ükül*, KhalL *üxel* death—MYYC 698

→ **üküldü-** mit ihm zusammen kämpfen u. sterben [M U] || Ord. Kalm.
MoL ∅

→ **üküleng** Tod [M U] || Ord. Kalm. ∅; MoL *üküleng*, KhalL ∅ dead, half-
dead

→ **ükütgü-** (???) die Besinnung verlieren (vor Angst) [M] || Ord. Kalm. ∅;
MoL *üküdke- ~ üküdkü-*, KhalL *üxtgex* to faint, become unconscious

vidar [U][144] || MoL *bidar* vampire

yara (Cag. *yara*) Wunde [M A], (pl.) *yaras* [M] || Ord. *yara* ulcère; Kalm. *yarᵉ*
Beule, Wunde (eiternde), Syphilis; Blattern; MoL *yar-a*, KhalL *yar* ulcer,
boil, sore; scab, mange; knot in wood[; KhalL/B *yartax* to get syphilis]—
MYYC 736, Nugteren 2011: 544

→ **yaratu** (Cag. *yaralïq*, MTu. *yaralu*) wounded [M A] || Ord. *yaratā* ayant
un ulcère; Kalm. MoL ∅

yasun (Cag. *süyük ~ süŋük ~ süŋäk*, MTu. *siŋük*)[145] bone [S U A], (Cag.
čekirdäk ~ danä)[146] stone of a fruit [A]—Li62: 73 || Ord. *yasu* os; cadavre;
de à jouer; clan; ossature, charpente, carcasse, qualité, substance d'un
objet; Kalm. *yasṇ* Knochen, Geschlecht; MoL *yasun*, KhalL *yas/an* (i) bone,
skeleton; dead body, corpse, remains; dice; frame; (ii) race, family, clan;
descent; (iii) kernel, stone of a fruit, pit; (iv) quality (usually of paper or
textile)—Birtalan 2001: 1004–1005, MYYC 737, Nugteren 2011: 544–545

→ **yasutu** von der Rasse [M A] || Ord. *yasutā ~ yasutu ~ yastā ~ yastu*
ayant des os, une charpente; Kalm. *yastē* aus dem Geschlecht; MoL
yasutai ~ yasutu, KhalL *yastaĭ ~ yast* having bones; belonging to a race,
stock, or generation; of good quality; strong, sturdy; honest, consci-
entious, reliable, (pl.) MoL *yasutan*, KhalL *yastan* nation, people—
MYYC 737

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143 (↑) *helāk* ≈ *ölmäk dev. n. fr. *öl-*; 'death' ≈ (↑) *ölüm*

144 < Uig. *vidar* (Kara 2001: 117–118)—Skt. *vetāla* e. Art Dämon, Vampir (Mayrhofer 1976.255),
SktB *vetaḍa* a kind of demon (Edgerton 1953: 508)

145 Tu. *süŋük* (? *süŋök*) 'bone'; morph. dev. n. fr. **süŋ-*; survives in NE SE NC SC NW SW (C72:
838–839)—VEWT 437a

146 Osm. *çekirdek* (i) pip, seed, stone of a fruit, (iv) (obs.) grain (goldsmith's weight) (Red 246) ≈
Pe. *dāna* grain; a berry; stone of fruit, seed of grain or fruit; a pimple; grain or bait scattered
for catching birds; a cannon-ball; etc. (St 501). Trki *da:nɛ ~ danɛ* [Pe.] corn, grain, piece,
lump (Ja64: 80)—VEWT 132a

yerge (Cag. *fal*)[147] divination—Unclear word, translation according to Cag. [A] ||

yor- (Cag. *yor-*) to interpret dreams [A][148] ||

yötel- (Cag. *yötäl-*) to cough [A][149] ||

Abbreviations

[A]	Middle Mongγol in Arabic script (Rybatzki)
Ar.	Arabic
Ar.-Pe.	Arabo-Persian
Bšk.	Baškir
Bur.	Buryat
Cag.	Cagatai (Poppe, VEWT)
EMoL	Early Literary (Written) Mongolian
Kalm.	Kalmuck (Ramstedt)
KazTat.	Kazan-Tatar
Kh.	Spoken Khalkha
KhalL	Literary Khalkha (Lessing)
KhalL/B	Literary Khalkha (Bawden)
KhalL/H	Literary Khalkha (Hangin)
Kzx.	Kazax
[M]	Middle Mongγol of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Rybatzki)
MMo.	Middle Mongγol (Rybatzki)
Mo.	Mongolic, Mongolian
MoL	Literary (Written) Mongolian (Lessing)
MoL/Kow	Literary Mongolian according to Kowalewski (Lessing)
MTu.	Middle Turkic (Golden)
OirL	Literary Oirat
Ord.	Ordos (Mostaert)
Osm.	Osman
Otü.	Osttürkisch (Eastern Turki)
Özb.	Özbek

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147 (↑) *fal*

148 < Tu. *yör-* 'to unwrap', 'to interpret (a dream), explain (a doctrine, etc.)', and the like; in the early period w. *-ö-*; survives only in NC NW SW (C72: 955)—VEWT 208b

149 < Tu., the word is a nomen-verbum, cf. Trki *yŭtɛl* 'cough', *yŭtɛl-* 'to cough' (Ja64: 162)—Tu. *yötül* (*yötöl*) 'a cough'; no obvious Tu. etymology, perhaps a l.-w.; survives in NE SE NC SC NW (C72: 889–890)—VEWT 209a

[*P*]	Middle Mongɣol in hPags-pa script (Rybatzki)
Pe.	Persian
[*S*]	Middle Mongɣol in Chinese characters (Rybatzki)
Skt/B	(Buddhist) Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Tib.	Tibetan
Trki	Turki
Tu.	Turkic
[*U*]	Middle Mongɣol in Uigur script (Rybatzki)
Uig.	Uigur (Old Uigur)
Uyɣ.	(Modern Literary) Uyɣur
Yak.	Yakut
→	(i) development, derivation into; (ii) look further in same entry
←	(i) development, derivation from; (ii) look before in same entry
↑	look before in different entry
↓	look further in different entry
⟨	borrowed from
⟩	borrowed into
∅	no occurrence/s

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AT¹: Altan tobci

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Reflexes of the *VgV* and *VxV* Groups in the Mongol Vocabulary of the Sino-Mongol Glossary *Dada yu/Beilu yiyu* (Late 16th–Early 17th Cent.)

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1 Introduction

Mongolic historical linguistics has long drawn attention to differential development of groups of sounds containing an intervocalic consonant represented by the Written Mongol letters *ḥēth* ⟨q⟩ ~ ⟨q̈⟩ (in back-vocalic words) and *kāph* ⟨k⟩ (in front-vocalic words). Cf. e.g. the following minimal pairs:

(1) a. WMo. *udaɣan*/'wd'ǰ'n 'female shaman' > Kh. *ʊtɕəŋ*, Bur. *ʊdəgən*, Kalm. *udɕn*

　　 b. WMo. *udaɣan*/'wd'ǰ'n 'slow; long' > Kh. *ʊtaŋ*, Bur. *ʊdan*, Kalm. *udan*

　　 a. WMo. *ege-*/'k'- 'to return, go back' > Kh. *ig-*

　　 b. WMo. *ege-*/'k'- 'to warm, dry' > Kh *eː-*, Ord. *eː-*, Kalm. *eː-*

By and large, two main theoretical approaches to the explanation of this phenomenon are distinguished, which may tentatively be called a monogenetic and a bigenetic approach. According to the first one, intervocalic consonants and their reflexes as in (1a) and (1b) go back to a single original velar phoneme, while the second approach posits two separate Proto-Mongolic consonant segments represented differently in the modern Mongolic languages.

Poppe (1960: 41, 57–62; cf. also Poppe 1955: 59–73; 1959), a most outstanding proponent of the monogenetic approach, suggested that there might be an original weak velar stop **g* which had dual development in intervocalic position: it is preserved before a primary short or unstressed vowel (i. e., in the

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so-called "strong" position) but turned into a spirant and then disappeared before a long or originally stressed vowel (i. e., in the so-called "weak" position), which finally led to the formation of modern Mongolic diphthongs and secondary long vowels.

The bigenetic approach was first proposed by Ramstedt (1902: 21–23; cf. also Ramstedt 1957: 88) who explained the differences between (1a) and (1b) by the fact that both may contain reflexes of two different consonants, a stop *-g- and a fricative *-γ-, respectively. A similar view was later expressed by Street (1957: 84–85), Doerfer (1985: 13) and, with some reservations, Vladimircov (1929: 193, 213–216, 222, 238–242).

In the second half of the 20th century, Mongolic historical-comparative studies were mostly dominated by the monogenetic approach, apparently due to Poppe's authority in the field, but the situation has changed dramatically over the last 20 years. Current research related to the problem is based mainly on modern varieties of the bigenetic approach that differ from each other only in characterization of a disappearing "weak" consonant. The following three varieties appear to be the most common:

(1)   *-g- vs. *-x- (Janhunen 1999: 119–129);
(2)   *-g- vs. *-h- (Svantesson et al. 2005: 121–124);
(3)   *-g- vs. *-∅- (Nugteren 2011: 227–228).

In this paper, reflexes of Proto-Mongolic *VgV and *VxV groups (in Janhunen's terms) will be dealt with as occurred in the language material of the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada yu/Beilu yiyu* (further *DDY/BLYY*), a little-known lexico-graphical work dated between 1567 and 1603, as demonstrated in Rykin (2016). Some linguistic features of this glossary are described in my previous publications (see Rykin 2012a–b; 2013; 2014; 2015) as well as in Shimunek's recent article (2014), but the issue addressed here has never been discussed before. It should at once be noted that the results obtained allow us to draw some nontrivial conclusions about the origin and development of these groups which may refine and elaborate the existing Proto-Mongolic reconstructions, including that proposed by Janhunen (1999; 2003).

2   *VgV

2.1   *VgV > VgV

The phoneme *g* /k/ realized as an uvular *γ* [q] in back-vocalic words and as a velar *g* [k] in front-vocalic words is an expected reflex of Proto-Mongolic

intervocalic *ɡ in the Mongolic dialect of the *DDY/BLYY* where it is attested in 41 lexical items (2a). It is noteworthy that 12 of them demonstrate an irregular alternation of *-ɡ- with other velars *-k- and *-x- in Middle Mongol (2b) as well as in some modern Mongolic languages (2c).

(2) a. **hünegen** /huneken/ 虎捏干 289¹ 'fox' < *hünegen.
       || EMMo: SHM *hünegen* 忽捏堅 in the place name *Hünegen Dabā* 忽捏堅荅巴, lit. 'Fox Ridge', HY *hünegen* 忽捏干, DGZ *hünegen* 忽捏干 = *ünegen*/ʼwynʼkʼn, XHY I *hünegen* 忽捏干 = *ünegen*/ʼwynʼkʼn, YY *fünege* 伏捏革, YB *hünegen* 忽捏干 ~ *fünege* 伏捏革; WMMo: MA *ünegen* هوناٜكان ~ *hünegen* افناكان ~ هوناٜكان, IM *hünege* هناٜگا ~ هوناٜكان ~ *hünegen* هنكان, AL *hüngen* هوٜنكان ~ هنٜكانْ, RH *hüngen* (?*hünegen*) هونكان · WMo *ünege*/*n*; WOir *ünegen*; Kh *unəg*; Ord *ʉneke*; KhorCh *unək*; Bur *unəɡən*; Brg *unˈəɡ*; Kham *unɤk*; KalmM *yngn*; Dag *xunˈʷəkʷ*; EYu *hǿneken*; Mgl *xunike*; Mgr *xunike*; Kgj *hunikɔ*; Dgx *xunieqaŋ* < *hünegen*.
   b. **buɣu** /pʊkʊ/ 卜谷 ~ 卜骨 381, 393, 576 'deer' < *bugu.
       || EMMo: ZY *buɣu* 補工 (read 古 gŭ instead of 工 gōng) in the NP *buɣu sara* 補工撒喇剌 'the 8th month' (lit. 'deer month'), YY *buɣu* 補兀; WMMo: MA *buɣu* بوغو, RH *buɣa* بغا in the NP *buɣa sara* بغا سره 'the 2nd month of autumn' (lit. 'deer month') · WMo *buɣu*; WOir *buɣu* ~ *buɣa*; Kh *pʊɢ*; Ord *pʊkʊ*; Khor *pʊk*; Bur *bʊɡə*; Brg *bʊɡ*; Kham *pʊka*; Kalm *bʊɢ*; Dag *pɔkʷ*; EYu *pɔkɔ* 'deer chess (*a board game*)'; Mgl *puqu* < *bugu.
       | EMMo: SHM *buqu* 不中忽, HY *buqu* 不中忽, DGZ *buqu* 不忽 = *buɣu*/pwqw, XHY I *buqu* 不忽 = *buɣu*/pwqw in the NP *buqu sara* 不忽喇剌 = *buɣu sara*/pwkw sʼrʼ 'the 8th month' (lit. 'deer month'), YB *buχu* 不忽; WMMo: RH *buqu* بوقو < *buku.
   c. **kögerčigene** /kʰokertʃʰikene/ 可各兒赤各捏 563 'pigeon, dove' < *kögerči+ ← Turkic
       || EMMo: ZY *kügürǰin* 庫古魯眞, YB *kögerčigenne* 可合兒赤干捏 (read 各 gè instead of 合 hé); WMMo: IM *kögörči* (?*kökörči*) كوكورجى ~ *kögerči* (?*kökerči*) كوگرجى · WMo *kegürǰigene*; WOir *kögöljirgene ~ kögöljirgönö*; Kalm *køɡldʒrgn* < *kögerči+ ~ *kügerči+ ~ *kegürči+ ~ *kegürǰi+ ~ *kögel- ǰi+.

| EMMo: HY *kökörčigen* 可可兒赤干, DGZ *kökörčigen* 可可兒赤干 = *kökerčigen*/kwyk'rcyk'n · WOir *kököljirgene* < **kökerči+ ~ *kökelji+*.

| WMMo: MA *köörčigen* كوورجكان · Kh *xu:rtɛkən* 'dove, turtle dove'; Ord *kʰu:rtʃikene* 'turtle dove' < **köxerči+ ~ *küxerči+*.

taγu /tʰakʊ/ 倘兀 in the NP *ala[γ] taγu* /alak tʰakʊ/ 阿喇倘兀 560 'Daurian jackdaw' < **tagu* ?← Turkic

|| EMMo: YB *taγu* 倘兀 in the NP *ala[γ] taγu* 呵喇倘兀 (read 阿 ā instead of 呵 hē) 'water crow' · WMo *taγu* 'crow, jackdaw'; KhorCh *tʰa:kʊ ~ tʰa:k*; Brg *ta:g*; Dag *tʰa:wə* 'Daurian jackdaw, collared crow' < **tagu*.

| EMMo: HY *ta'un* 塔溫 in the NP *alaq ta'un* 阿剌黑塔溫 'collared crow', DGZ *ta'un* 塔溫 = *taγun*/t'qwn in the NP *alaq ta'un* 阿剌黑塔溫 = *alaγ taγun*/"l'q t'qwn id., YB *da'un* 荅溫 in the NP *alaq da'un* 阿剌黑荅溫 'water crow' · Kh *tʰʊ:* in the NP *aǯag tʰʊ:* 'jackdaw', 'Daurian jackdaw'; Bur *tʰʊ:n* 'jackdaw'; Kham *alaktʰʊ:* 'jackdaw' < **taxu/n*.

| WMMo: MA *taqan* تاقان 'raven, rook' < ? **taku/n*.

2.2 *VgV > VxV

A group of 20 words can be found in the *DDY/BLYY* where intervocalic **g* as reconstructed from the evidence of most modern Mongolic languages is irregularly represented by the voiceless velar fricative *x* /x/ < **k*, which has the allophones *χ* [χ] in back-vocalic words and *x* [x] in front-vocalic, the latter being attested only once (3a). It may have arisen through fricativization of the Middle Mongol aspirated stop *k* /kʰ/ (with velar and uvular allophones), but the very use of **k* instead of expected **g* in Middle Mongol has not yet received a fully satisfactory explanation (see e.g. Lewicki 1949: 107–111; Poppe 1951: 190b–191a; 1959: 272; Ligeti 1963: 151–153; 1964: 291; Weiers 1969: 29–32; Finch 1991: 179–183; Mostaert 1999 (1927): 234–235, 238–242). For most of these words (11 out of 20), an unpredictable distribution of the reflexes of intervocalic **g* and **k* is revealed in modern Mongolic languages and dialects (3a–b). In some cases, any of the three Proto-Mongolic velars, **-g-*, **-k-* or **-x-*, can be reconstructed on the basis of Mongolic comparative data (3c).

(3) a. ***üdüxü*** /utuxu/ 五毒户 ~ 五獨户 260, 643, 644 'vagina' < **hütükü/n*.
|| WMMo: MA *hütügün* هوتوكون ~ هوتوكون, IM *ütgün* اتكُن ~ اتْكُن, AL *hütgün* هُتْوكُون ~ هُتْكُن; RH *hütgün* هتكُون; VdI *hütügün* اوتْوكُون ~ ütügün ; · WMo *ütügü*; Kh *utʰəg ~ utʰgəŋ*; Ord *ʉtʰʉkʉ*; KhorCh *utʰək*; Brg *utəg*; Mgl *ʂtiku ~ ʂtuku*; MgrDS *tuku*; Dgx *xutuquŋ* < **hütügü/n*.
| EMMo: YB *üdüxü* 五毒户 · KalmM *ytkn*; Mog *utkun* < **hütükü/n*.
b. ***toχorawun*** /tʰɔxɔrawʊn/ 脫或劳溫 528 'crane (*bird*)' < **tokuraxun*.

|| WMMo: MA *toɣarawun* توغراوون, RH *toɣarūn* (?*toɣara'un*) توغرون, VdI *toɣora'un* (?*توُغرَاونْ*) • WMo *toɣuriyun ~ toɣuriu ~ toɣuruu*; WOir *toɣoruu ~ toɣoriu ~ toɣoruun ~ toɣorun ~ toɣoron*; Kh *tʰɔɢrʊː*; Ord *tʰʊkʊrʊː*; Khor *tʰɔkrʊl*; Brg *tɔgrʊ*; Kham *tʰɔkɔrʊː*; Kalm *toɢrun*; Dag *tʰɔkʷlɔr*; Mgl *tʰuqoroŋ* 'wild goose'; MgrDS *tʰuquroŋ*; Dgx *tʰɔŋqori* 'wild goose' < **toguraxun.*

| EMMo: SHM *toqura'un* 脫中忽舌剌温 as part of compound personal names, lit. 'Crane', YB *toɣorawun* 脫或勞温; WMMo: AL ?*toqaraqa'un* تقرقاون • Bur *tɔxərʲʊn*; BaoD *tʰuxuraŋ* 'wild goose' < **tokuraxun.*

c. ***čaχān*** /tʃʰaxaːn/ 叉汗 ~ 揷汗 57, 235, 283, 286, 308, 311, 312, 313, 331, 344, 417 ~ ***čiχān*** /tʃʰixaːn/ 赤汗 527 'white' < **čakaxan.*

|| WMMo: MA *čaɣān* چيغان ~ جيغان ~ جغان ~ جاغان, IM *čaɣān* جَغَن ~ *čiɣān* چيغان, RH *čaɣān* جَغَن., VdI *čaɣān* چَغَانْ • WMo *čaɣan*; WOir *caɣan ~ caɣān*; Kh *tsʰaɢaɣ*; Ord *tʃʰakaːn*; Khor *ʃakan*; Bur *saɢan*; Brg *saɢaŋ*; Kham *tsʰakaːn*; Kalm *tsaɢan*; Dag *tʃʰika/n*; EYu *tʃʰχkaːn ~ tʃʰkaːn*; Mgl *tɕʰiqaːn ~ tɕʰaqaːn*; Mgr *tʂʰiqan*; Dgx *tʂʰiqaŋ*; Mog *tʃaɢon* < **čagaxan.*

| EMMo: SHM *čaqa'an* 察中合安 ~ 察哈安 ~ *čaqān* 察中罕 ~ 察罕, Ph *čaqa'an*/č-q-'n ~ *čaqān*/č-q'n, ZY *ǰaqān* 札罕 ~ *čaqān* 察罕, *ǰaqā* 札匣 in the NP *ǰaqā amu* 札匣阿木 'rice', HY *čaqān* 察罕, DGZ *čaqān* 察罕 = *čaɣan*/c'q'n, XHY I *čaqān* 察罕, YY *čaχān* 義汗 ~ 義漢 (read 叉 chā instead of 義/乂 yì), YB *čaχān* 察罕 ~ 察汗 ~ 乂漢~ 乂汗 (read 叉 chā instead of 乂 yì) ~ 又汗 (read 叉 chā instead of 又 yòu); WMMo: MA *čaqān* جَقَانْ ~ جاقان ~ جقان • Bao *čaqān* جيقان ~ جقان, AL *čaqān* tɕʰixaŋ; Kgj *tʃʰixɔ ~ tʃʰɔxɔ* < **čakaxan.*

| EMMo: SHM *ča'a'an* 察阿安 in the ethnic name *ča'a'an tatar* 察阿安 塔塔舌兒, lit. 'White Tatars' < **čaxaxan.*

2.3   **VgV > VkV*

The *DDY/BLYY* contains a single instance of the occasional development **g > k* /kʰ/ in intervocalic position, which is also observed in Middle Mongol sources, as well as in modern Mongolic languages, such as Kalmyk, Dagur, and Kangjia (4).

(4)   ***öketɕi*** /okʰetʃʰi/ 我克氣 212 'elder sister' < **ekeči.*
|| EMMo: SHM *egeči* 額格赤, HY *egeči* 額格赤, DGZ *egeči* 額格赤 = *egeči*/ 'k'cy, YB *egeči* 額格赤; WMMo: MA *egeči* ايكاجى, AL *egeči* اكاجيْ, RH *egeči* ايكاجي • WMo *egeči*; WOir *egeči ~ eqči*; Kh *igtɕʰ*; Ord *eketʃʰi*; Khor *ʁxʃ*; Bur *egəʃə*; Brg *ʁgʃ*; Kham *ʁkʁtsʰi*; Kalm *egtʃʰ*; EYu *ʁketʰχ*; Mgl *kitɕʰi*; MgrDS *ketɕʰitiau* (< **egeči dexü* 'elder.sister younger.sister') 'sister'; Bao *ektɕʰi* in the NP *ektɕʰi tu* (< **egeči dexü* 'elder.sister younger.sister') id.; Dgx *eqetʂʰi* < **egeči.*

| EMMo: ZY *ekeči* 阿可赤, YY *ekeǰi* 額克直, YB *öketɕi* 我克氣 in the NP *öketɕi deü* 我克氣去 (read 丟 diū instead of 去 qù) 'sisters (*an elder and a younger*)' · Kalm *ektʃʰ*; Dag *ekʰtʃʰ*; Kgj *ʁkʰʁtʃʰi ~ kʰʁtʃʰi* in the NP *ʁkʰʁtʃʰi tewu ~ kʰʁtʃʰi tewu* (< *egeči dexü* 'elder.sister younger.sister') 'sister' < *ekeči*.

3 *VxV

3.1 *VxV > VwV

Five lexical items are attested in the *DDY/BLYY* in which Proto-Mongolic intervocalic *x* is reflected as the bilabial fricative *w* /w/. This change, occasionally occurring in Middle Mongol (cf. e.g. Ligeti 1963: 171–172; Rybatzki 2003: 61), takes place only before (near-)close (near-)back rounded vowels *u* /ʊ/ (6a) and *ü* /u/ (6b). Schematically, it can be represented as follows:

(5)   *x > w / __ V(*near-)close (near-)back rounded*

(6)   a. **nawur** /nawʊr/ 腦兀兒 80 'lake', but cf. **naur** /naʊr/ 腦兒 329 id. < *naxur.*
        || EMMo: SHM *na'ur* 納兀舌兒 ~ 納浯舌兒, ZY *naur* 獠兒, HY *na'ur* 納兀兒, DGZ *na'ur* 納兀兒 = *naɣur*/n'qwr/, YY *nawur* 惱兀兒, YB *na'ur* 納兀兒; WMMo: IM *nawur* ناوُر ~ ناوُر 'sea', RH *na'ur* ناور, VdI *nawur* ناوُر · WMo *naɣur ~ nuur*; WOir *naɣur ~ nour ~ nuur*; Kh *nʊːr*; Ord *nɔːr*; Khor *nʊːr*; Bur *nʊːr*; Brg *nʊːr*; Kham *nʊːr ~ nʊːra*; Kalm *nuːr*; Dag *naur* id.; EYu *nʊːr*; Mgl *noːr*; Dgx *no* < *naxur.*
      b. **seriwün** /seriwun/ 寫雷溫 ~ 寫流溫 171, 403 'cool' < *serixün.*
        || EMMo: SHM *seri'üt-* (< *seri'ü+t-* 'cool-NV') 薛舌里兀都 'to become cool', Ph *seri'ün*/se-ri-'un, HY *seri'ün* 薛舌里溫, DGZ *seri'ün* 薛里溫 = *serigün*/s'rykwn, XHY I *seri'ün* 薛里溫 in the NP *seri'ün či'ürsün* 薛里溫赤兀勒孫 'summer mat', YY *seri'ün* 塞里文, YB *seri'ün* 薛里溫 ~ *seriwün* 寫流溫 in the NP *seriwün šira* 寫流溫失剌 'tea' · WMo *serigün*; WOir *seriün ~ serüün*; Kh *siruŋ*; Ord *serʉn*; Khor *sʊrun*; Bur *herʲun*; Brg *xʊruːŋ*; Kham *sʊruːn*; Kalm *seryn*; Dag *sʊrun*; EYu *suruin*; Mgl *sarin*; MgrDS *ɕeren* < *serixün.*

3.2 *VxV > V'V

The most numerous examples showing the development of the *VxV* groups in the Mongol vocabulary of the *DDY/BLYY* are provided by words which reflect various intermediate stages of the loss of intervocalic *x*. The earliest stage is that at which *-x-* has disappeared and resulted in a hiatus. This stage generally

corresponds to the Middle Mongol period and is not represented in modern Mongolic languages where the *VxV* combinations have mostly developed into long vowels or full vowels (in non-initial syllables) (7a), but the occasional reflexes of non-disappearing intervocalic **g* or even **p* are also present in some lexical items (7b).[2] The *DDY/BLYY* has 23 instances of the change of **VxV* to *V'V*, which are distributed as follows:

*axa > a'a—6 (*hula'an* /hʊla.an/ 虎喇按 436 'red' < **hulaxan*)

*axu > a'u—3 (*šuma'ul* /ʃʊma.ʊl/ 暑抹溫 546 'fly' < **sïmaxul*)

*exe > e'e—1 (*de'el* /te.el/ 碟燕 270 'clothes, garment, coat' < **dexel*)

*ïxu > ï'u—2 (*čaki'ur* /tʃʰakʰi.ʊr/ 插禿兀兒 (read 克 kè instead of 禿 tū) 492 'flint' < **čakïxur*)

*ïxü > ï'ü—3 (*teri'ün* /tʰeri.un/ 鉄力里溫 (里 lǐ used erroneously) in the NP *kökö teri'ün* 可可鉄力里溫 555 'horsefly' < **terixü/n*)

*oxa > o'a—3 (*mo'al* /mɔ.al/ 抹暗 236 'Mongol' < **moxal*)

*uxu > u'u—3 (*χadu'ur* /xatʊ.ʊr/ 哈都兀兒 476 'sickle' < **kaduxur*)

*üxe > ü'e—1 (*yisü'en* /jisu.en/ 亦素按 146 'the ninth' < **yisüxen*)

*üxü > ü'ü—1 (*kü'ün* /kʰu.un/ 苦溫 ~ 苦文 653, 661 'person, human being' < **küxün*).

(7)   a. ***ari'un*** /ari.ʊn/ 阿力汗 (read 溫 wēn instead of 汗 hàn) 684 'clean, pure' < **arïxun* ← Turkic.

|| EMMo: Ph *ari'uɛ*/"-ri-'uɛ ~ *ari'ul*/"-ri-'ul, HY *ari'un* 阿里溫 (read 阿舌里溫), DGZ *ari'un* 阿里溫 = *arïγun*/"ryqwn, YB *ari'un* 阿里溫; WMMo: MA *ari'un* اريون ~ آرىيوون ~ آرىيون ~ اريوون ~ ايرييوون ~ *ariyun* ~ *ariwun* • اريون ~ *ariyun* آرِيُون, RH *ariyun* اريون ~ *ariyun* ~ ايرهىوون, IM *ari'un* اريون ~ ايرىيون WMo *ariyun*; WOir *ariun*; Kh *arʲʊŋ*; Ord *arʊːn*; K̆hor *arʊn*; Bur *arʲʊn*; Brg *arʲʊŋ*; Kalm *ɛryn*; Dag *arun*; EYu *arʊːn*; Mgl *arin*; MgrDS *aɭɔŋni ~ aɭunni*; Bao *arʊŋ* 'completely, totally'; Kgj *arʊn*; Dgx *aruŋ*; Mog *orun ~ oruːn ~ aːrun ~ aːruːŋ* < **arïxun*.

dolo'an /tɔlɔ.an/ 朵羅按 'seven' 144, but cf. ***dolō*** /tɔlɔː/ 朵落 id. 180 < **doloxan*.

|| EMMo: SHM *dolo'an* 朵羅安, Ph *dolo'an-a*/do-lo-'n (< *dolo'an+a* 'seven-DAT.LOC') 'on the 7th [day]', ZY *dolōn* 朵欒 ~ *dolō* 朵羅 in the NP *dolō ebügen* 朵羅阿不干 'Big Dipper', HY *dolo'an* 朵羅安, DGZ *dolo'an*

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2   For alternations between a hiatus and a non-disappearing **g* in the language of the *Secret History of the Mongols* see Mostaert (1999 (1927): 258).

朵羅安 = *doloɣan*/twlwq'n, YY *dolō* 朵羅 in the NP *dolō hodun* 朵羅火墩 'Big Dipper', *dolō sara* 朵羅撒剌 'the 7th month', YB *dolō* 朵羅, also in the NP *dolō* [*hodun*] 朵羅[火墩] 'Big Dipper'; WMMo: MA *dolān* دولان, IM *dolān* دولان ~ دُولاَنْ, AL *dọlān* دولان ~ دُلان, RH *dolān* دولان, VdI *dolān* دَوْلاَنْ (corrupted from دولان?) · WMo *doloɣa/n*; WOir *dolōn* ~ *dolon*; Kh *tɔɣɔ*; Ord *tɔlɔ:*; Khor *tɔlɔ*; Bur *dɔlɔn*; Brg *dɔlɔ*; Kham *tɔlɔ:* ~ *tɔla:n* in the NP *tɔla:n pʊrkʰan* 'Big Dipper'; Kalm *dolan*; Dag *tɔlɔ*; EYu *tɔlɔ:n*; Mgl *tolo:n*; MgrDS *tolaŋ*; Bao *toloŋ*; Kgj *tanlɔ* ~ *tɔlɔ*; Dgx *toloŋ* < **doloxan*.

b. *de'el* /te.el/ 碟燕 270 'clothes, garment, coat' < **dexel.*

|| EMMo: SHM *de'el* 迭額勒 ~経額勒, ZY *dēl* 迭兒 'wadded and fur-lined coat', HY *de'el* 迭⊤延, also in the NP *nekei de'el* 捏克迭⊤延 'fur coat', *ǰuǰa'an de'el* 主扎安迭⊤延 'wadded and fur-lined thick coat', DGZ *de'el* 迭延 = *degel*/t'k'l, also in the NP *nekei de'el* 捏克迭延 = *nekei degel*/n'k'y t'k'l 'fur coat', *ǰuǰa'an de'el* 主扎安迭⊤延 = *ǰuǰaɣan degel*/ywc'q'n t'k'l 'wadded and fur-lined thick coat', XHY I *de'el* 迭延 in the NP *de'el huquta* 迭延呼呼塔 = *degel uɣuta*/t'k'l 'wqwd' 'garment bag', *de'el qančun* 迭延侃純 = *degel qančun*/t'k'l q'ncwn 'a garment's sleeve', YY *de'el* 得額兒 ~ *dēl* 得兒 in the NP *dēl ǰaɣa* 得兒扎哈 'collar', YB *de'el* 迭延 ~ 得額兒 ~ *dēl* 得兒 in the NP *dēl ǰaɣa* 得兒扎哈 'collar', *ǰaɣatu dēl* 扎阿秃得兒 'collared garment'; WMMo: MA *dēl* ديل, IM *dēl* ديل ~ دِيل 'outer garment, outwear', AL *dēl* دِيْل, RH *dēl* ديل · WOir *degel*; Kh *te:ɮ*; Ord *te:l*; KhorCh *tɤ:l*; Brg *dɤ:l*; Dag *tɤ:lʲ*; EYu *ti:l*; Mgl *te:l*; MgrDS *tier*; Dgx *tien* < **dexel.*

| Bur *degəl*; KhamJ *tɤkɤl* < **degel.*

| WMMo: IM *debel* دِبل 'outer garment, outwear', VdI *debel* دبيل in the VP *debel emüsümü* دبيل اَيْمُوسُومُو 'he gets dressed' · WMo *debel*; WOir *debel*; Kalm *dewl* < **depel.*

3.3 *VxV > VV

The next stage of development of the **VxV* combinations after the loss of intervocalic velar is characterized by the contraction of hiatus sequences with different vowels to diphthongs. This stage is also well attested in Middle Mongol, especially in its later sources, and now partly preserved in Dagur, Moghol, Dongxiang, Mongghul, and Mangghuer, where a diphthongoid pronunciation is retained mainly by reflexes of the groups **axu* and **exü* (see Svantesson et al. 2005: 184; Nugteren 2011: 152, 160–161, 163). The Mongol vocabulary of the *DDY/BLYY* contains 34 instances of this sound change (8), which are grouped into the following types:

*axu > au—19 (mau /maʊ̯/ 毛 601, 641, 665 'bad' < *maxu)

*exü > eü—8 (eüle /eu̯le/ 偶列 2, 27, 36, 38, 53 'cloud' < *exüle/n)

*ïxa > ia—2 (takia /tʰakʰi̯a/ 塔恰 ~ 他恰 383, 395, 567, 569, 708 'chicken'
   < *takïxa)

*ïxu > iu—3 (bariul /parʲi̯ʊl/ 把流兒 479 'handle, haft, grip' < *barïxul)

*ïxü > iü—2 (šiüderi /ʃi̯uteri/ 手迭利 16 'dew' < *sixüderi/n).

(8)   **aula** /aʊ̯la/ 襖喇 61, 63, 64 'mountain' < *axula.
   || EMMo: SHM a'ula 阿屼剌 ~ 阿兀剌, Ph a'ula/"-'u-l, ZY aula 奧剌, HY
   a'ula 阿兀剌, DGZ a'ula 阿兀剌 = aɣula/"qwl', XHY I a'ula 阿兀剌 = aɣula/
   "qwl', YY awula 襖兀剌 ~ aula 襖剌, YB a'ula 阿剌兀 (read 阿兀剌);
   WMMo: MA ūla اولا ~ اولَا, IM a'ula اَولَا ~ آولَا ~ آوْلَا, RH ūla اوله · WMo
   aɣula/n; WOir oula ~ uula; Kh ʊːɮ; Ord ʊːla; Khor ʊːl; Bur ʊːlə; Brg ʊːl; Kham
   ʊːl; Kalm uːl; Dag aul; EYu ʊːla; Mgl ula; Mgr ula; Bao uːla; Kgj ʊla; Dgx ula;
   Mog aulo ~ aula ~ oula < *axula.
   neü- /neu̯/ 紐 36 'to move, migrate', but cf. **nū-** /nu:/ 努 27 id. < *nexü.
   || EMMo: SHM newü- 耨兀 ~ ne'ü- 揑兀, HY ne'ü- 揑兀, XHY II newü- 紐兀
   = nigü-/nykw- (read negü-/n'kw-), YB nū-弩; WMMo: MA nū- نو 'to migrate,
   nomadize', nü'ülge- (ۑ بوولک read نوولک) nü'ü-lGA- 'to.migrate-CAUS')
   'to relocate', IM nū- نو 'to move away', AL neü- نَو id. · WMo negü-; WOir
   nöü- 'to nomadize, transhume, move about' ~ nē- 'to move, go past'; Kh
   nuː-; Ord nʉː- 'to transmigrate'; Khor nuː-; Bur nuː- 'to nomadize, migrate',
   'for clouds to drift'; Brg nuː- 'to transmigrate'; Kham nuː-; Kalm nyː-; Dag
   nʐu- 'to transmigrate, move to a new place'; EYu nyː-; Mog nou- < *nexü.

3.4   *VxV > V̄

The evolution of the Proto-Mongolic *VxV groups has finally resulted in the
formation of long vowels from diphthongs or directly from hiatus sequences of
two identical vowel segments. Contracted long vowels are found in all modern
Mongolic languages except Mangghuer, Kangjia, Dongxiang, and Moghol, as
well as Dahejia (Jishishan) Baoan, but the loss of contrastive vowel lenth in
these language varieties seems to be of a quite recent origin (Svantesson et al.
2005: 183; Nugteren 2011: 134–145). In the *DDY/BLYY*, contracted vowel lengths
are attested in 85 lexical items, which by far outnumbers all other reflexes of
the *VxV combinations put together. Their distribution is shown below:

*axa > ā—19 (χālɣa /xaːlqa/ 哈喇啞 352 'gate' < *kaxalga)

*axu > ū—2 (šibū /ʃipʊː/ 失卜 562 'bird' < *sibaxu/n)

*exe > ē—11 (emēl /emeːl/ 額默兒 516 'saddle' < *emexel)

*exü > ū—2 (köldü /kʰoltuː/ 克力都 320 'frozen, congealed' < *köldexü)

*ixa > ā—6 (sājǐɣai /sa:tʃikai/ 撒只該 543 'magpie' < *sixajǐgai)

*ixu > ū—2 (nūča /nʊːtʃʰa/ 努揷 317, 365 'secret' < *nïxuča)

*ixe > ē—5 (berē /pere:/ 北列 487 'club, cudgel' < *berixe)

*ixi > ī—1 (kīri /kʰiːri/ 起立 514 'standard, guidon' < *kixiri)

*ixü > ū—2 (šūr /ʃuːr/ 速兒 293 'fine-tooth comb' < *sixür)

*oxa > ō—10 (jǐlō /tʃilɔ:/ 只羅 524 'reins' < *jǐloxa)

*öxe > ȫ—5 (kȫrge /kʰoːrke/ 可兒个 690 'bellows' < *köxerge)

*öxü > ȫ—1 (kȫgen /kʰoːken/ 可干 213, 215 'child' < *köxüken)

*uxa > ō—1 (širō /ʃirɔ:/ 失落 363 'earth, soil, dust' < *siruxa)

*uxu > ū—12 (ūli /ʊ:li/ 兀力 332 'owl' < *uxulï)

*üxü > ū—5 (dūr- /tu:r/ 都兒 35, 50 'to become full' < *düxür-).

Most of these lengths have regular correspondences in modern Mongolic languages (9a), but some stems exhibit an unpredictable distribution of intervocalic *x, *g, or even possibly *k (9b), occasionally taking the form of *-g- ~ *-x- alternations in individual languages with some minor semantic differences between the alternating variants (9c).

(9) a. **tōsu** /tʰɔ:sʊ/ 脫素 687 'dust' < *toxasu/n.

|| EMMo: SHM *to'osun* 脫幹孫 ~ *to'usun* 脫兀速泥, HY *to'osun* 脫幹孫, DGZ *to'osun* 脫幹孫 = *toɣosun*/twqwswn, YB *to'osun* 脫幹孫 (read 斡 wò instead of 幹 gàn); WMMo: IM *tōsun* طُوسُون ~ طُوسن ~ طُوسُون; RH *tōsun* توسون, VdI *tōsun* تُوسُونْ · WMo *toɣosun*; WOir *tōsun*; Kh *tʰɔ:s*; Ord *tʰɔ:sʊ* ~ *tʰɔ:s*; Khor *tʰɔ:s*; Bur *tɔ:hən*; Brg *tʰɔ:s*; Kham *tʰɔ:sɔ*; Kalm *to:sn*; Dag *tʰɔ:s* in the NP *tʷʰa:rəl tʰɔ:s* (< *toxarag toxosu* 'earth dust') 'dust' < *toxasu/n.

b. **sū** /sʊ:/ 素 ~ 速 314, 315, 336 'depression (*only as part of place names*)' < *suxu.

|| EMMo: SHM *su'u* 速兀 'armpit', HY *su'u* 速兀 id., DGZ *su'u* 速兀 = *suɣu*/swqw id., YB *su'u* 速兀 id.; WMMo: MA *sū* صو id., IM *sū* صو ~ صو id., RH *suwu* سوه id. · WMo *suu* 'armpit; long and narrow depression in the terrain'; WOir *suu* 'cleft; armpit'; Ord *sʊ:* 'armpit; long and narrow depression in the terrain'; Khor *sʊ:* 'armpit'; Kalm *su: ~ sy:* 'armpit; foot or lower part of a mountain'; Dag *sɔ:* 'armpit'; EYu *sʊ:* id.; Mgl *su:* id.; Mgr *su:* in the PP *su: do:ro* (< *suxu doxara* 'armpit under') id. < *suxu. | WMo *suɣu* 'armpit; long and narrow depression in the terrain'; WOir *suɣu* 'armpit, bosom'; Kh *sʊɢ* 'armpit', 'underarm of a garment', 'hollow, depression (*of a mountain*); foot', 'breast (*of a garment*)'; Bur *hʊgə* 'armpit', 'underarm of a garment'; Brg *xʊg* 'armpit'; Kham *sʊka* id.; Dgx *suqe* id. < *sugu.

| Bao *tsʰuxui* 'armpit'?< **suku*.

c. **bāχan** /paːxan/ 把汗 [79] 'small' < **baxa+kan.*

|| EMMo: YB *bāχan* 把旱 in the NP *bāχan dalai* 把旱答顔 (read 頼 lài instead of 顔 yán) Ch 'river'—Mo 'small sea' · WMo *baqan* 'somewhat, rather; sufficiently, considerably; quite a lot, rather many or much; a little too …'; WOir *bāxan* 'little, minor, few'; Kh *paːxəŋ* 'rather; sufficiently, considerably; quite a lot, rather many or much', 'somewhat, a little too …, just a little', 'small, little'; Ord *paːxan* 'considerably, very'; Bur *baːxən* 'small', 'just a little; somewhat, rather; slightly'; Brg *baːxəŋ* 'quite a lot, rather many or much'; Kalm *baːxn* 'small, a little; somewhat, slightly' < **baxa+kan.*

| WMo *baɣaqan* 'nice and small; rather little, small, insignificant; few, very little, ever so little'; WOir *baɣaqan* 'rather small'; Kh *paɢxəŋ* 'small, little, insignificant', *paɢaxəŋ* 'a little, few, very little; small, little'; Ord *pakaxan* 'rather little'; Khor *paka ~ pak* 'small, little; somewhat, slightly'; Bur *bagəxən* 'small, insignificant', 'a little', 'early childhood'; Brg *bag* 'small'; Kham *pakʊ* 'little, small'; Kalm *paɢ* 'small, little, young'; EYu *paka* 'young' < **baga(+kan).*

4   Conclusions

The stages of development of the **VxV* groups as reflected in the *DDY/BLYY* are summarized in (10).

(10)

	*axa	*axu	*exe	*exü	*ïxa	*ïxu	*ixe	*ixi	*ixü	*oxa	*öxe	*öxü	*uxa	*uxu	*üxe	*üxü
I		awu							iwü							
II	a'a	a'u	e'e			i'u			i'ü	o'a				u'u	ü'e	ü'ü
III		au		eü	ia	iu			iü							
IV	ā	ū	ē	ǖ	ā	ū	ē	ī	ǖ	ō	ȫ	ȫ	ō	ū		ǖ

As noted above, the first, second and third stages are generally characteristic of Middle Mongol, whereas the fourth as well as partly the third ones are attested in modern Mongolic languages and dialects. This means that the Mongol vocabulary of the *DDY/BLYY* appears to be chronologically heterogeneous and hardly classifiable in terms of uniform language periodizations as

commonly used in Mongolic historical linguistics. This impression is further enhanced by a number of alternations between the stems belonging to different stages of evolution of the *VxV* combinations (11).

(11)

I ~ II   *χalawun* /xalawʊn/ 哈劳溫 166 ~ *χala'un* /xala.ʊn/ 哈喇溫 173 'hot' < **kalaxun*

I ~ III   *nawur* /nawʊr/ 腦兀兒 80 ~ *naur* /naʊ̯r/ 腦兒 329 'lake' < **naxur*

II ~ IV   *hula'an* /hʊla.an/ 虎喇按 436 ~ *ulān* /ʊla:n/ 兀藍 ~ 兀瀾 322, 358, 359 / *ulāŋ* /ʊla:ŋ/ 五郎 285, 316 'red' < **hulaxan*

     üdzi'ür /utʃi.ur/ 兀莞兒 (read 吉 jí and 兀 wù instead of 莞 guān, wān) 503 ~ *üjǔr* /utʃu:r/ 兀軸兒 480 'tip, end' < **hüjihür*

     dolo'an /tɔlɔ.an/ 朶羅按 144 ~ *dolō* /tɔlɔ:/ 朶落 id. 180 'seven' < **doloxan*

     jirwa'an /tʃirwa.an/ 只兒瓦按 437 ~ *jurwā* /tʃurwa:/ 主兒㢙 143, 179 'six' < **jirgoxan ~ *jirguxan*

     kü'ün /kʰu.un/ 苦溫 ~ 苦文 653, 661 ~ *kūn* /kʰu:n/ 苦膩 645 'person, human being' < **küxün*

III ~ IV   *neü-* /neʊ̯/ 紐 36 ~ *nū-* /nu:/ 努 27 'to move, migrate' < **nexü-*

     šibau /ʃipaʊ̯/ 什包 527 ~ *šibū* /ʃipʊ:/ 失卜 562 'bird' < **sibaxu/n*

     širau /ʃiraʊ̯/ 石劳 60 ~ *širō* /ʃirɔ:/ 失落 363 'earth, ground, soil' < **siraxu ~ *siruxa*

A combination of archaic and innovative features in the Mongol idiom reflected in the *DDY/BLYY* casts some doubt on the view expressed in our previous publications (Rykin 2012a: 87; 2012b: 323–324; 2015: 218) that it may be considered to be one of the late Middle Mongol dialects. In view of the foregoing, a conclusion can be made that it should be better identified as belonging to a transitional stage between Middle Mongol and Modern Mongolian, with a statistically significant predominance of linguistic features characteristic of the latter.[3]

Throughout this paper, particular attention has been paid to odd cases of alternation between the reflexes of intervocalic **g*, **k*, **x* in the Mongol vocabulary of *DDY/BLYY* as well as in modern Mongolic languages and dialects (see (2b–c), (3)–(4), (7b), (9b–c)). The stops **g* and **k* alternate with each other

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3   A similar point of view has been put forward independently by Shimunek (2014: 100) who believes that Middle Mongol features of the glossary were probably copied from earlier lexicographical materials dating back to the Yuan or early Ming period. In our opinion, linguistic and textual evidence to support such a claim seems to be insufficient.

most frequently and display an especially strange behaviour in the 'peripheral' Mongolic languages of China sharing a number of features that are of great importance for Proto-Mongolic reconstructions. Thus, Baoan, Kangjia, Monggghul, and Mangghuer feature occasional occurrences of *-g- instead of expected *-k- (medial strengthening), as well as the unpredictable appearance of *-k- in place of *-g- (medial weakening). In Dongxiang, the Proto-Mongolic intervocalic velars have the same sets of reflexes (Nugteren 2011: 224–225). Dagur shows a confusing situation in which intervocalic *k and *g are represented by separate reflexes in some stems, but merged to a fricative [ɣ] in others (Nugteren 2011: 226; cf. Svantesson et al. 2005: 200). As for *-g- (*-k-) ~ *-x- alternations, they occur far more rarely, judging from the evidence presented in the comparative supplement to Nugteren's monograph (2011: 263–546) containing about 1350 lexical items. All these irregular developments remain unexplained in terms of the existing Proto-Mongolic reconstructions.

I believe that these reconstructions should be somewhat refined and elaborated to obtain an explanation which could be regarded as more or less convincing. For this, it seems useful, following Janhunen (2003: 2–3), to distinguish between *Proto-Mongolic* and *Pre-Proto-Mongolic*, the latter being further subdivided into *Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic* and *Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic* stages.[4] The irregular and unpredictable fluctuations between intervocalic *g, *k, *x in the Mongolic languages may be due to the fact that they possibly go back to an Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic consonant phoneme *G which appears to have had the following features:

> by *place of articulation*—[velar/uvular]
> by *voice onset time*—[voiceless].

The feature ⟨manner of articulation⟩ was presumably non-distinctive for this phoneme, as it might have had stop (*g, *k) or fricative (*x) realizations. Aspiration is also not likely to be considered as its contrastive feature, as aspirated *k and unaspirated *g seem to have occurred in free variation.

Probably at the Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic stage, *G split into two new phonemes, a stop *G and a fricative *x, which came to be contrastive in intervocalic position. The separation of *x must have taken place before the phonemic split

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4 Strictly speaking, only Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic has been specifically identified by Janhunen (2003: 2) who nevertheless pointed out that "some of the earlier stages of Pre-Proto-Mongolic can be approached through the analysis of the traces of areal contacts with neighbouring language families, notably Turkic and Tungusic". These stages may be summarized under the term Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic.

of *G into *g and *k, as can be deduced from much more frequent alternations between *-g- and *-k-, as compared to those between *-g- (*-k-) and *-x-, in modern Mongolic languages. *g and *k may have developed into separate phonemes in the transitional stage from Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic to Proto-Mongolic proper, at the same time as the velar *x changed to a weak laryngeal spirant *h, occasionally retained as a relic in Middle Mongol, which is supposed to be very close to Proto-Mongolic (see e.g. SHM *ihe'e-* 亦慍額 ~ *ihē-* 亦慍, HY *ihē-* 亦慍 'to protect' < *ixexe-; HY *ǰihar* 只哈兒 'musk deer' < *ǰixar(ï)* 'musk'; RH *keheli* كهلي 'belly' < *kexeli[5]). The occasional Middle Mongol reflexes of intervocalic *x were also glides, labial *w* (6) and palatal *y*, the latter occurring mostly in West Middle Mongol sources and only after *i* (see e.g. SHM *beriye* 別舌里耶, IM *beriye* بَرِيَا ~ بَرِيَا 'club, stuff' < *berixe; AL *ǰoriya* جوريا, RH *ǰoriya* جوريا 'ambler' < *ǰorixa ← Turkic; IM *niyur* نِيُور 'face' < *nïxur[6]). However, all the three approximants had a very limited distribution and usually developed into -∅-, i.e. the final stage of weakening and complete loss of the intervocalic fricative was already observed in Middle Mongol, whereas *-g- and *-k- retained their original value unchanged.

The development of intervocalic consonants from Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic to Middle Mongol can be illustrated by the following scheme:

(12) EPPM
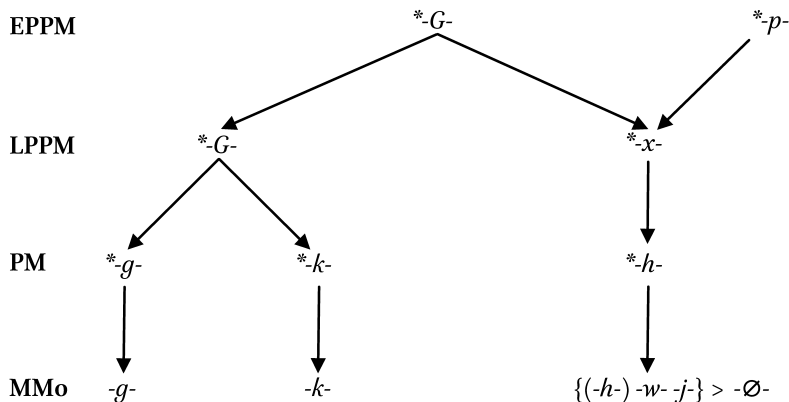
The dual origin of *-x-, deriving from both *-G- and *-p-, as shown in (12), has already been dealt with in previous research (e.g. Janhunen 1999: 122–123, 127–128; Svantesson et al. 2005: 123; Nugteren 2011: 76–78). It can be proved mainly

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5　For additional examples see Poppe (1938: 28), Ligeti (1963: 172), Rybatzki (2003: 61), and Nugteren (2011: 77).

6　For additional examples see Ligeti (1963: 172).

by external evidence, notably coming from the Turko-Mongolic parallels in which Mongolic *-x- corresponds either with Turkic g (13a) or with Turkic p (13b). In native stems it manifests itself via alternations between *-g- and *-p-, or between *-g-, *-p-, and *-x-, as exemplified in (7b).

(13) a. LPPM *-x- < EPPM *-G-:
WMo *böge*, DDY/BLYY *bȫ* 'shaman' < *böxe = OT *bögü* 'sage, wizard' (cf. Poppe 1960: 60);
WMo *kiraɣu/n*, DDY/BLYY *kirau* 'hoarfrost' < *kiraxu = OT *küragu* id.;
WMo *siɣaǰaɣai*, DDY/BLYY *sāǰiɣai* 'magpie' < *sixaǰiɣai = OT *sagïzgan* id.

  b. LPPM *-x- < EPPM *-p-:
WMo *ǰiɣar*, DDY/BLYY *dʐār* 'musk' < *ǰixar = OT *yïpar* id. (cf. Poppe 1960: 47);
WMo *kögerge*, DDY/BLYY *kȫrke* 'bridge' < *köxerge = OT *köprüg* id. (cf. Poppe 1960: 48);
WMo *quɣur*, DDY/BLYY *χu'ur* 'stringed musical instrument' < *kuxur = OT *kopuz* id. (cf. Poppe 1960: 48; Janhunen 1999: 123).

Historical changes involving Mongolic intervocalic consonants in the *VxV groups can best be described as lenition, which is related to what is commonly termed "sonority hierarchy" in phonology. This hierarchy implies a ranking of sounds by relative strength or loudness so that voiceless sounds rank higher than voiced sounds, stops are higher than continuants, consonants are higher in rank than semivowels, front and back vowels rank higher than central vowels, etc. Phonetic changes subsumed under lenition usually take place in the direction of less sonorous to more sonorous sounds or, more generally, strong sounds to weak sounds (Crowley, Bowern 2010: 24–26). Likewise, the Mongolic disappearing "weak" intervocalic segments consistently shifted from obstruents to sonorants and then to zero, going through the following stages:

  STOPS (*-G-, *-p-) > FRICATIVES (*-x-) > APPROXIMANTS (-h-, -w-, -j-) > ZERO (-∅-)

This process finally led to a formation of long (or full) vowels that occupy the highest position on the sonority scale.

  The scheme proposed here makes it possible to integrate both monogenetic and bigenetic approaches into a unified explanatory model. Following the monogenetic approach, we propose to consider the intervocalic consonants as

in (1a) and (1b) to be derived from a single protophoneme which is, however, posited by us for Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic and not Proto-Mongolic proper. But at the same time, we reconstruct two separate consonants already for the Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic stage, which is thoroughly consistent with the bigenetic approach. A peculiarity of our scheme is that it assumes all the intervocalic velars to have developed from a common source, whereas none of the previous reconstructions has put *-k- on the same line of development as *-g- and *-x-.[7] Its integrative nature is also manifested in the fact that it recognizes all modern varieties of the bigenetic approach as equally valid, but for different stages of development of the Mongolic languages: *-g- vs. *-x- (Janhunen 1999) for Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic, *-g- vs. *-h- (Svantesson et al. 2005) for Proto-Mongolic, *-g- vs. *-∅- (Nugteren 2011) for Middle Mongol.

Abbreviations

||	corresponds to
		but; as opposed to
AL	the Mongol-Persian and Arabic-Mongol glossary *Kitāb Majmū' Turjumān Turkī wa-'ajamī wa-Muğalī* by Xalīl b. Muḥammad b. Jūsuf al-Qunawī (?) (1343) (Poppe 1927–1928; Saitô 2006)
AO IOM RAS	the Archives of the Orientalists, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences
Bao	Baoan (Chen Naixiong et al. 1987)
BaoD	Dahejia Baoan (Buhe—Liu Zhaoxiong 1982)
Brg	Old Bargu (Uuda et al. 1985)
Bur	Buriat (Šagdarov—Čeremisov 2010)
CAUS	causative
Ch	Chinese
Dag	Dagur (Engkebatu et al. 1984)
DAT.LOC	dative-locative
Dgx	Dongxiang (Böke et al. 1983)
DDY/BLYY	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada yu* 韃靼語/*Beilu yiyu* 北虜譯語 (between 1567 and 1603)

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7   Poppe (1960: 56–57; cf. Poppe 1959: 272–273) suggested the development *-k- > -g- in certain phonetic conditions, namely before a primary long vowel. However, his view has nothing to do with the idea of common origin of intervocalic *k and *g, as expressed by us.

DGZ	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Dada guan zazi* 韃靼館雜字 (the latter half of the 15th cent.) (AO IOM RAS, B.I. Pankratov's collection, No. 49)
EMMo	Eastern Middle Mongol
EPPM	Early Pre-Proto-Mongolic
EYu	Eastern Yugur (Bulučilaɣu et al. 1985)
HY	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 (1389) (Mostaert 1977; Mostaert—Rachewiltz 1995; Kuribayashi 2003)
IM	the Arabic-Mongol glossary *Kitāb Ḥilyat al-Insān wa Ḥalbat al-Lisān* by Ğamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Muhannā (early 14th cent.) (Melioranskij 1904; Poppe 1938: 432–451; Weiers 1972)
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Kalm	Kalmuck (Ramstedt 1935)
KalmM	Kalmuck according to Muniev (ed.) 1977
Kgj	Kangjia (Siqinchaoketu 1999)
Kh	Khalkha (Pjurbeev (ed.) 2001–2002)
Kham	Khamnigan (Yu Wonsoo 2011)
KhamJ	Khamnigan according to Janhunen 1990
Khor	Khorchin (Sun Zhu (ed.) 1990)
KhorCh	Khorchin according to Chaganhada 1995
LPPM	Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic
MA	the Arabic-Persian-Turkic-Mongol dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (14th cent.) (Poppe 1938; Saitô (ed.) 2008)
Mgl	Mongghul (Qasbaɣatur et al. 1986)
Mgr	Mangghuer (Čenggeltei 1991)
MgrDS	Mangghuer according to Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis—Slater, et al. 1996
MMo	Middle Mongol
Mo	Mongol
Mog	Moghol (Böke 1996)
NP	noun phrase
NV	denominal verb suffix
Ord	Ordos (Mostaert 1968)
OT	Old Turkic (Clauson 1972)
Ph	Mongolian monuments in 'Phags-pa script (13th–14th cent.) (J̌ančiv 2002; Hugejiletu—Sarula 2004; Tumurtogoo (ed.) 2010)
PM	Proto-Mongolic
RH	the Arabic-Persian-Turkic-Greek-Armenian-Mongol dictionary *Rasūlid Hexaglot* by al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī (between 1363 and 1377) (Golden (ed.) 2000; Ligeti—Kara 2012)
SHM	the *Secret History of the Mongols* (mid-13th cent.) (Kuribayashi—Choijinjab 2001; Kuribayashi 2009)

VdI	the Arabic-Persian-Turkic-Mongol dictionary *Šāmil al-Luǧa* by Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. ʿImād al-Qarāḥiṣārī (late 15th–early 16th cent.) (Ligeti 1962)
WMMo	Western Middle Mongol
WMo	Written Mongol (Lessing (ed.) 1960)
WOir	Written Oirat (Krueger 1978–1984)
XHY I	appendix (*xuzeng* 續增) I to the Sino-Mongol glossary of the Bureau of Translators (the latter half of the 15th cent.?) (Lubsangbaldan—Bousiyang 1959: 21–27)
YB	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Yibu* 譯部 from the *Lulong sailüe* 盧龍塞略 (1610) (Ishida 1973: 113–145; Apatóczky 2016)
YY	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Yiyu* 譯語 from the *Dengtan bijiu* 登壇必究 (1598) (Apatóczky 2009)
ZY	the Sino-Mongol glossary *Zhiyuan yiyu* 至元譯語 (alias *Menggu yiyu* 蒙古譯語) from the *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (1264 or 1330) (Ishida 1973: 87–111; Ligeti 1990; Kara 1990)

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Early Serbi-Mongolic–Tungusic Lexical Contact: Jurchen Numerals from the 室韋 Shirwi (Shih-wei) in North China

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1 Introduction

Many scholars have written about the Jurchen-Manchu numerals 11–19, beginning with Wilhelm Schott (1853). Berthold Laufer (1921) first recognized the Mongolic affinity of these numerals, and his basic proposal has been largely upheld since. Despite the long history of work on this subject, the precise details of the relationship between these numerals and Mongolic, the specific language or dialect from which the numerals were borrowed, and the historical context of this loan relationship have remained unexplained. In a recent email, Professor Kara aptly called them "those wicked numerals", reflecting on our incomplete understanding of their origins and their tantalizing Mongolic affinities. I propose in this paper that the attested Jurchen numerals for 11–19 are probably reflexes of Archaic Jurchen numerals borrowed from the Serbi-Mongolic language of the Shirwi (Shih-wei).

2 Attested Jurchen-Manchu Numerals 11–19

As noted by Professor Kara, there are two numeral systems attested for Jurchen—(1) the typologically aberrant, synchronically monomorphemic numerals with Mongolic affinities; and (2) compound numerals of the form [10 + *n*] (Kara 1997: 227). For the sake of convenience, I term these numerals 'Type 1' and 'Type 2' in this paper.

The *Hua-I i-yü* 華夷譯語 Jurchen dictionary, the *Chin Shih* 金史, and some of the earlier Jurchen inscriptions attest the Type 1 numerals. The phonological reconstructions of these numerals given below are my own revisions of previous proposals:

11 *ɔmšɔ モ ~ ㇇ [安朔] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 646; *JBB* 257). Cognate to Manchu *omšon* as in *omšon biya* '11th month'. I follow Ligeti's phonological reconstruction of this numeral as "**omšo*" (1953: 219, *n.* 13).

12 *jirχɔn ㇅ [只兒歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 647; *JBB* 204). Cognate to Manchu *ǰorγon* as in *ǰorγon biya* '12th month'.[1]

13 *gɔrχɔn �口 [戈兒歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 648; *JBB* 93–94). No attested reflexes in Manchu.

14 *durχɔn エ ~ ㇛ [獨兒歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 649; *JBB* 83). No attested reflexes in Manchu.

15 *tɔbɔχɔn 五 [脫卜歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 650; *JBB* 27). Cognate to Manchu *tofoχon* '15'.

16 *ni(l)xun ㇌ [泥渾] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 651; *JBB* 144) ~ *ñɔlχɔn [女魯歡] 'sixteen (十六)' (*Chin Shih* 2892). Cognate to Manchu *ñolxun* ‹niolxun› ~ *ñolχûn* ‹niolχûn› '16th day of the first month'.[2]

17 *dalχɔn ㇗ [答兒歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 652; *JBB* 83). No attested reflexes in Manchu.

18 *ñuxun 方 [女渾] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 653; *JBB* 200). No attested reflexes in Manchu.

19 *ɔñɔχɔn ㇟ [斡女歡] (*HIIY.Jur : SJLS* 133 § 654; *JBB* 18). No attested reflexes in Manchu.

The later Jurchen memorials (i.e. the *Nü-chen-kuan lai-wen* 女真館來文) held in the Berlin National Library and the Tōyō Bunko, as studied by Kiyose (1977), exclusively use the Type 2 numerals for 11–19. See below for the attested compound numerals:

11 *ǰua *əmu 十⟜ (*SJM.BNL₁ : SJLS* 152–155).

12 *ǰua *ǰuə 十⊏ (*SJM.BNL₁₃ : SJLS* 176–178).

13 *ǰua *ilan 十㐅 (*SJM.BNL₂ : SJLS* 155–157).

14 *ǰua *duin 十キ (*SJM.BNL₁₇ : SJLS* 184–186).

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1 This Manchu form is given by Zakharov (1875: 998).

2 These two Manchu forms are given by Zakharov (1875: 224).

15   *ǰua *šunǰa 十劦 (*SJM.BNL*$_9$: *SJLS* 168–170).
16   (attested in *əmu *taŋgu *əmu *ǰua *niŋgu 一冇一十宁 '116' (*SJM.TB*$_2$
       : 192–195)).
17   *ǰua *nadan 十承 (*SJM.BNL*$_6$: *SJLS* 163–165).
18   *ǰua *ǰaqʊn 十禿 (*SJM.BNL*$_5$: *SJLS* 161–163).
19   *ǰua *uyun 十九 (*SJM.TB*$_{17}$: *SJLS* 208–209).

These numerals are typologically aligned with neighboring languages: most Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic languages, as well as Chinese, Tibetan, Nivkh, Korean, Japanese, and many other languages of East Eurasia express the numerals 11–19 as compounds composed of [10 + n].

Some of the Jurchen inscriptions exhibit free variation between the two kinds of numerals, e.g. in the *Nü-chen chin-shih t'i-ming pei* 女真進士題名碑 inscription of 1224 A.D., *tɔbɔχɔn 五 'fifteen' (*l.* 2) and *ǰua *šunǰa 十劦 'fifteen', literally 'ten five' (*l.* 22), appear interchangeably in the same semantic contexts, denoting calendrical dates. See below:

卡   月   五   日
‹duin›   ‹bya›   ‹toboxon›   ‹inenggi›
*duin   *bya   *tɔbɔχɔn   *inəŋgi
four   month   **fifteen**   day
'... the **fifteenth** day of the fourth month ...' (*NüCS, l.* 2).

爻   井   宁   月   十   劦   日
‹aǰir›   ‹aña›   ‹ninggu›   ‹bya›   ‹ǰua›   ‹šunǰa›   ‹inenggi›
*aǰir   *aña   *niŋgu   *bya   *ǰua   *šunǰa   *inəŋgi
first   year   six   month   **ten**   **five**   day
'... the **fifteenth** day of the sixth month of the first year ...' (*NüCS, l.* 22).

By Manchu times, most of the Type 1 numerals for 11–19 were either lost or had semantically narrowed to very restricted calendrical usage (see discussion above). Note the following list of Literary Manchu numerals, from Gertraude Roth Li (2000: 64):

11   *ǰuwan emu*, literally 'ten one'.
12   *ǰuwan ǰuwe*, literally 'ten two'.
13   *ǰuwan ilan*, literally 'ten three'.
14   *ǰuwan duin*, literally 'ten four'.
15   ***tofoχon* 'fifteen'**.
16   *ǰuwan ninggun*, literally 'ten six'.

17   *ǰuwan nadan*, literally 'ten seven'.
18   *ǰuwan ǰaqûn*, literally 'ten eight'.
19   *ǰuwan uyun*, literally 'ten nine'.

As the list above shows, the only Manchu reflex of the Jurchen numerals under discussion retaining the basic numeral sense is *tofoχon* 'fifteen'.[3]

3   The Kitan Hypothesis and Attested Kitan Numerals

Lajos Ligeti identified Middle Mongol cognates for the Jurchen numerals 12–17, and considered these Jurchen numerals to be loanwords from Kitan (1986: 428). As pointed out by Daniel Kane, however, "the [Kitan] teens are expressed by the graphs for 'ten-two', 'ten-three' and so on, like Chinese" (2009: 63 § 2.240), i.e. [10 + *n*]. In support of Kane's argument, I list the following attested Middle Kitan numerals in Kitan Assembled Script (the phonological reconstructions presented below are my own):

1 1   *par *… 乇 毛 ‹par› ‹…›, literally 'ten one' (*YHsiang* 2: 3–4).[4]

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3   Manchu as spoken in Sanjiazi, Heilongjiang, as documented by Engkebatu in the 1960s, largely retains the morphological structure of the Literary Manchu numeral system (cf. Engkebatu 1995: 206, 343). One interesting innovation in Sanjiazi Manchu is the variant [dʑuɑn tɔb�ᶜχɔn] 'fifteen' (Engkebatu 1995: 206), which is the result of morphological syncretism reanalyzing Literary Manchu *tofoχon* 'fifteen' to fit the structural pattern of the other numerals composed of the structure [dʑuɑn] 'ten' (i.e. Literary Manchu *ǰuwan*) + numeral. This innovative construction was used in variation with the expected form [tɔbᵍχɔn] ~ [tɔbᵍχɔn] 'fifteen', from Literary Manchu *tofoχon* (Engkebatu 1995: 343).

4   András Róna-Tas identifies a passage in the *Hsiao Ti-lu* inscription of 1114 A.D. attesting the ethnonym *par *ugur 业夲 仐九夊 ‹p.ar› ‹u.g.ur› (*HsTi* 32: 11–12), which he equates with the *On Ogur* (Róna-Tas 2016: 16), a western Turkic ethnonym of the 5th–6th c. A.D. Since Old Turkic *on* in this ethnonym means 'ten', this correspondence indicates that Kitan 乇 'ten' is read as 业夲. Róna-Tas follows Kane's reading of the grapheme 夲 ‹ra› (Kane 2009) and thus reconstructs Kitan 乇 *para 'ten' (2016: 16). As I have shown elsewhere (Shimunek 2011: 102), the Kitan Assembled Script grapheme 夲 should be read as ‹ar›. I thus reconstruct Middle Kitan *par 业夲 ~ 乇 ‹p.ar› 'ten'. Although I agree with Róna-Tas on his identification of 业夲 as a variant rendering of 乇 'ten', it is possible that the phrase *par *ugur indicates the *On Uyghur* [اُونْ اُویْغُور], i.e. the 'Ten Uyghur', a phrase which appears in Rashīdu'd-dīn's early 14th century *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* in the following passage:

و در قدیم الایّام مقام اقوام اُویْغُور در آن رودخانه ها و کوهها و صحراها بوده. آنچه در آن ده رودخانه
بودند، ایشان را اُونْ اُویْغُور خواندند. و آنچه در نه رودخانه تُوغُوزْ اُویْغُور.

12   *par *ǰur 乇 圣 ‹par› ‹ǰur›, literally 'ten two' (*Lang* 4: 19–20).[5]

13   *par *ɢur 乇 包 ‹par› ‹ɣur›, literally 'ten three' (*YChüeh* 35: 31).

14   *par *dur 乇 乇 ‹par› ‹dur›, literally 'ten four' (*Lang* 5: 6–7).

15   *par *taw 乇 夭 ‹par› ‹taw›, literally 'ten five' (*Hsü* 49: 22–23; *Chung* 20: 4–5).

16   *par *... 乇 太 ‹par› ‹...›, literally 'ten six' (*Chung* 10: 44–45).

17   (not attested).

18   *par *ñɛm 乇 亜 ‹par› ‹ñêm›, literally 'ten eight' (*Ku* 7: 10–11).[6]

19   *par *iši 乇 夽 ‹par› ‹iši›, literally 'ten nine' (*Chung* 50: 14–15).[7]

Given the close semantic and phonological correspondences among the Jurchen Type 1 numerals for 11–19 and numerals in Kitan and Mongolic,[8] the marked typological difference in the morphological structure of the numerals, and certain gaps in lexical correspondence, e.g. *χɔn 'ten' vs. attested MKit *par 'ten' and MMgl *harban* 'ten'; and *ǰir 'two' vs. attested MKit *ǰur ~ *čur 'two' and MMgl *ǰirin* 'two (feminine)'—the Jurchen Type 1 numerals for 11–19 are likely to be borrowings from an unattested dialect of Kitan, or more likely, a different Serbi language closely related to Kitan.[9]

4   Historical Context

The *Chin Shih* 金史 describes the Jurchen people as descendants of the Mo-ho 靺鞨 (i.e. the people known as Malgal 말갈 in Korean) in the following passage:

"... Long ago the dwelling place of the Uyghur tribes was in those two river [systems], mountains, and plains. Those who were in the ten rivers were called the *On Uyghur*, and those who were in the nine rivers were called *Toquz Uyghur*" (*JT*Th 139; *JT*RM 139).

5   On the reading of the grapheme 圣 as ‹ǰur›, see Shimunek (2014: 104).

6   Oyuunch identified an orthographic variant of 亜 'eight' as 伏文乇 (2014: 132), composed of well-known phonograms, which I read as ‹ñ.iê.êm› and reconstruct phonologically as MKit *ñɛm 'eight'.

7   On the phonological value of the grapheme 夽 'nine' as ‹iši›, see Shimunek (2011: 102b).

8   For studies identifying Mongolic and Kitan cognates in the Type 1 Jurchen numerals, see Laufer (1921), Poppe (1979), Ligeti (1986: 428), Kara (1997), Janhunen (2003), and Kane (2009: 63 § 2.240).

9   Marc Miyake gives a similar proposal, speculating that Jurchen '15' is possibly "a loan from a non-Kitan para-Mongolic language: i.e., a sister of Khitan" (2012). I have independently arrived at essentially the same conclusion, although the details of my proposal differ from those of Miyake.

金之先出靺鞨氏靺鞨本號勿吉

As for the ancestors of the Jurchen, they came from the Mo-ho. The Mo-ho were originally called Wu-chi.

Chin Shih 1: 1

The Kitan and Shirwi (室韋 Shih-wei) are descendants of the Yü-wen Serbi 宇文鮮卑.[10] As demonstrated by Ratchnevsky (1966: 231), the Shirwi confederation was a multiethnic, multilingual confederation comprised of Tungusic-speaking Mo-ho 靺鞨 people (i.e. ancestors of the Jurchen),[11] the Meng-wa 蒙瓦 ~ Meng-wu 蒙兀, whom Pelliot (1928) and others have shown were Proto-Mongolic speakers,[12] and other groups. The dominant group among the Shirwi undoubtedly were ethnolinguistic descendants of the Serbi (鮮卑 Hsien-pei), and spoke a language closely related to Kitan and more distantly related to Mongolic.

These three different Shirwi peoples also had close ethnolinguistic contact with Turkic speakers: As discussed by Ratchnevsky, the Shirwi were dependent on the Türk, their politically dominant neighbors (1966: 229).

This complex ethnolinguistic interaction is a likely context not only for early Turkic loanwords into Proto-Mongolic (i.e. the language of the Meng-wu ~ Meng-wa) and the late Serbi dialect of the Shirwi Proper (i.e. the dominant group of the Shirwi confederacy), but also for Shirwi loanwords into Archaic Jurchen (i.e. the language of the Mo-ho).[13]

The Type 1 Jurchen numerals for 11–19 are undoubtedly a result of this ethnolinguistic contact, and are probably reflexes of loanwords from the late Serbi dialect of the dominant group among the Shirwi (i.e. Shirwi Proper) into the Archaic Jurchen language of their Mo-ho subjects. The *χɔn element in these Shirwi numerals, which Laufer (1921) identified as cognate to Turkic '10', is explainable as an Old Turkic dialect word cognate to attested Old Turkic *on* 'ten' and attested Archaic Turkic *hun* 'ten' in the early western Turkic ethnonym *Hunuguri*, i.e. *hun ugur*, the 'Ten Tribes'.[14]

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10   Cf. Kai Chih-yung (2001: 41–42), Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2004: 79), Xu (2005: 99), Twitchett & Tietze (2008), and Marsone (2011: 35, 39).

11   The *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書 describes the language of the southern Shirwi as follows: 其語言靺鞨也 'Their language is Mo-ho.' (*HTS* 219: 6176).

12   Cf. Pelliot (1928: 126–127), Rinchen (1964: 230), Ratchnevsky (1966: 251), and Bernardini & Guida (2012: 11).

13   This is undoubtedly the historical context in which many of the presumably early Old Turkic loanwords into Proto-Mongolic took place.

14   The early Turkic ethnonym *Hunuguri* in Jordanes' *Getica* (551 A.D., cf. Ligeti 1986: 348), i.e.

5 Reconstructed Shirwi (Shih-wei) Numerals

Given the historical context discussed above, the Jurchen Type 1 numerals are very likely Shirwi numerals borrowed into Archaic Jurchen, the language of the Mo-ho people who had been subjugated to the Shirwi confederacy. I reconstruct these Shirwi numerals as follows:

Shirwi *χɔn 'ten' ← OTrk dial. *hon ~ *hun 'ten'.[15] This Shirwi word is unrelated to Middle Mongol *harba-n* 'ten' and its Middle Kitan cognate *par 乇 'ten' (< CSM *pʰar 'ten'). The Shirwi numeral is explainable as a replacement of the earlier Common Serbi-Mongolic form due to the prestige of a neighboring Old Turkic dialect.

Shirwi *Vmš-χɔn (*amš-χɔn?) 'eleven' → Jurchen *ɔmšɔ 'id.' ~ Manchu *omšon* as in *omšon biya* '11th month'. The Jurchen form is the result of consonant cluster simplification and regressive assimilation to the vowel of the *χɔn element.

The first morpheme in the Shirwi word for 'eleven', *Vmš (*amš?) 'one', is probably cognate to the root of attested Middle Kitan *mas-qu 又冬余 ‹m.as.qu› ~ *mas-qɔ 又冬欠 ‹m.as.qo› 'first'.[16] This Middle Kitan word is attested in passages such as the following:

才	丹百与	仒冊	几火朩	又冬余	丹力	盃刋为
‹ia›	‹b.y.en›	‹s.iang›	‹g.ung.en›	**‹m.as.qu›**	‹b.aq›	‹qa.ɣ.a›
*ya	*byən	*syaŋguŋ-ən		***masqu**	*baq	*qaʁa
elder.brother	PERS.N.	chancellor-GEN		**first**	child	PERS.N.

hun ugur with the Latin plural suffix *-i*, is evidence of an early western Archaic Turkic dialect form *hon ~ *hun 'ten', since this ethnonym corresponds to Ὀνόγουροι (with the plural suffix -οι), i.e. *On Ogur* 'the Ten Tribes' in Byzantine Greek texts (cf. Moravcsik 1958: 219; Golden 2012).

15 On the semantic value of this morpheme as 'ten', see Laufer (1921) and Poppe (1979). According to G.J. Ramstedt, this morpheme in the Jurchen numerals was borrowed from Mongolic 'twenty', but Omeljan Pritsak dismissed this proposal, stating that "die phonetische Seite dieser Annahme bereitet zu große Schwierigkeiten, als daß man sie annehmen könnte; in den süd-tungusischen Sprachen haben wir folgende Entsprechungen des mongolischen *qorin ~ xorin*" (Pritsak 1955: 190). Ligeti upheld the 'twenty' hypothesis (1986: 428).

16 I do not follow Batu's claim that Middle Kitan 仕仚仒几 is rewritten as 乇仒几 in line 15 of the *Tao-tsung* inscription (Batu 2012: 767; *Tao* 15:14). The grapheme block in question is very unclear in the published rubbings (cf. the rubbing in Chinggeltei 2002), and it is

仐各乄
‹s.êng.un›
*sɛŋun
field.marshal
'The **first** son of elder brother Chancellor *byən [was] Field Marshal
*qaʁa.' (*YHsiang* 10: 16–23; adapted from Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010: 160;
the phonological reconstruction is my own revision).

丹孑出	乇	卉仚	圣	又夊余	令仚与	乑
‹b.ɣ.an›	‹dur›	‹ai.d›	‹ǰur(?)›	**‹m.as.qu›**	‹t.em.en›	‹ebu›
*bʁ-an	*dur	*ay-d	*ǰur(?)	***masqu**	*təmən	*əbu
child-PL	four	male-PL	two.MASC	**first**	PERS.N.	

'[There were] four children. Two [were] boys. The **first**/eldest [was]
*təmən *əbu.' (*HsHui* 7:32).[17]

丹孑出	乇	卉仚	圣	又夊欠	搽伏
‹b.ɣ.an›	‹dur›	‹ai.d›	‹ǰur(?)›	**‹m.as.qo›**	‹qutuq.ñ›
*bʁ-an	*dur	*ay-d	*ǰur(?)	***masqɔ**	*qutuqñ
child-PL	four	male-PL	two.MASC	**first**	PERS.N.

'[He had] four children. Two [were] boys. The **first** [was] *qutuqñ.' (*HsHui*
5:20).[18]

Either the attested Middle Kitan form *mas 'one' or the hypothetical Shirwi
form *Vmš (*amš?) is the result of metathesis. Middle Kitan *mas and Shirwi
*Vmš (*amš?) 'one' have no cognates in the Mongolic branch.[19]

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difficult to follow his conclusion, despite its widespread acceptance in the Kitanological
literature.

17   On the reading of the grapheme 乑 as ‹ebu› see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

18   On the identification of 搽 as a single grapheme, and on its phonological value, see Kane
(2009). I revise Kane's reading of this grapheme to ‹qutuq›.

19   Janhunen's proposal to connect Jurchen-Manchu *omšo ~ omšon* 'eleven' with Written
Mongol *onča* 'special' is unlikely for several reasons: 1) the Mongol word *onča* is not
attested in Middle Mongol, and does not appear until modern Written Mongol; 2) it is
difficult to explain the hypothetical *m : n* correspondence; and 3) the proposed semantic
change of 'special' > 'one' is problematic. Middle Mongol *niken* 'one' superficially resem-
bles Nivkh; cf. reconstructed Pre-Nivkh *ñi 'one' and Middle Mongol *-ken* 'diminutive
suffix', although there is no known historical context connecting these numerals. The
reconstructed Pre-Nivkh form *ñi 'one' is from Gruzdeva (2004: 303). The similarity with
Middle Mongol *niken* 'one' is my own observation.

Shirwi *ǰir-χɔn 'twelve' → Jurchen *ǰirχɔn 'id.' > Manchu ǰorγon (as in ǰorγon biya '12th month').[20] The Manchu reflex of the Jurchen form is the result of regressive assimilation breaking the *i of the first syllable. The *ǰir element in the Shirwi word is the numeral 'two', cognate to Middle Mongol ǰirin 'two (feminine)'[21] and Middle Kitan *ǰur ~ *čur 'two'[22] < CSM *ǰur ~ *ǰir 'two'.

Shirwi *ɢur-χɔn 'thirteen' → Jurchen *gɔrχɔn 'id.' The Jurchen form is the result of regressive assimilation to the vowel of the final element *χɔn 'ten'. Shirwi *ɢur 'three' is cognate to Middle Kitan *ɢur 'three'[23] and Middle Mongol qurban 'three' < CSM *gʊr 'three'.

Shirwi *dur-χɔn 'fourteen' → Jurchen *durχɔn 'id.' Shirwi *dur 'four' is cognate to Middle Kitan *dur ~ *tur 'four'[24] and Middle Mongol dörben 'four' < CSM *dor 'four'.

Shirwi *tabu-χɔn 'fifteen' → Jurchen *tɔbɔχɔn 'id.' > Manchu tofoχon 'id.' The rounding in the first syllable of the Jurchen form is the result of regressive assimilation to the vowel of the *χɔn element due to Jurchen phonotactics. Shirwi *tabu 'five' is cognate to Middle Kitan *taw 'five'[25] and Middle Mongol tabun 'five' < CSM *tʰab(ʊ) 'five'.

Shirwi * n̄ǰir-χɔn 'sixteen' → Jurchen *ñi(l)xun ~ *ñɔlχɔn 'id.' > Manchu ñolxun [ɲɔlxun] ~ ñolχûn [ɲɔlχʊn] '16th day of the first month'. The onset of the Jurchen form is the result of cluster simplification—Jurchen phonology is not characterized by ᴺC cluster onsets. Shirwi *n̄ǰir (*n̄ǰɪr?) 'six' is cognate to Middle Mongol ǰirqo'a-n 'six' < CSM *n̄ǰɪr 'six'. This correspondence has further explanatory power with certain otherwise aberrant Manchu-Mongolic lexical corre-

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20 Sanzheev connected Manchu ǰorγon with Written Mongol ǰirγuγan 'six' (1930: 701). Although he was right to connect the Manchu word with Mongolic, this specific etymology is untenable given the attested Jurchen form (q.v. § 2 above). The Manchu form was later borrowed into Daur, cf. modern Daur [dʒorγunbe:] '12th month' (Engkebatu 1984: 320), written jorwonbie in the Pinyin-based Daur orthography (Nashundalai 2001: 253).

21 E.g. early MMgl ǰirin [只舌鄰] 'two (兩箇)' (SHM § 70).

22 Attested Middle Kitan *čur- 夲化 ‹č.ur.› ~ 夲安 ‹č.ur.› ~ *ǰur- 女化 ‹ǰ.ur.› ~ *ǰur 圣 ‹ǰur› 'two'.

23 Attested Middle Kitan *ɢur- 灸 ‹γur.› ~ 刋化 ‹γ.ur.› ~ *ɢur 包 ‹γur› 'three'.

24 Attested Middle Kitan *dur- 仚化 ‹d.ur.› ~ *dur 乇 ‹dur› ~ *tur- 令化 ‹t.ur.› 'four'.

25 Attested Middle Kitan *taw 夭 ‹tau› 'five'. Note also the partially suppletive root *ta- ~ *tɔ- in the ordinal forms *ta-dɔʁ 令�及圠 ‹t.ad.o.oγ› ~ *tɔ-dɔʁ 令帀及圠 ‹t.od.oγ› 'fifth (MASC.)' and *ta-dɔn 令方及冇 ‹t.ad.o.on› ~ *tɔ-dɔn 令帀及冇 ‹t.od.o.on› 'fifth (FEM.)'.

spondences, e.g. Manchu *niru-* 'to draw' : MMgl *ǰiru-* 'to draw'.[26] The Manchu word is probably a reflex of an unattested Jurchen form, ultimately borrowed from unattested Shirwi *ⁿǰiru- < CSM *ⁿǰirʊ- 'to draw'; the attested Middle Kitan reflex is *ǰur- as in *ǰur-ən 'paintings (plural)'.[27] The Kitan Assembled Script grapheme 灰 'six' has been semantically deciphered, but its phonological value is not yet known.

Shirwi *dal-χɔn 'seventeen' → Jurchen *dalχɔn 'id.' Shirwi *dal 'seven' is cognate to Middle Kitan *dalu 'seven'[28] and Middle Mongol *dolo'a-n* 'seven' < CSM *dalʊ 'seven'.

Shirwi *ñu-χɔn/*ñɛw-χɔn 'eighteen' → Jurchen *ñuxun 'id.' The *-xun element in the Jurchen form is the result of progressive assimilation with the vowel of the first syllable to satisfy Jurchen vowel harmonic phonotactic constraints. Shirwi *ñu (or *ñɛw) 'eight' is likely from earlier *ñɛw < *ñɛw̃ < *ñɛm 'eight', cf. Middle Kitan *ñɛm 'eight'[29] and its Middle Mongol cognate *naima-n* < CSM *ñayıma 'eight'.

Shirwi *Vmš-ñu-χɔn/*Vmš-ñɛw-χɔn 'nineteen' → Jurchen *ɔñɔχɔn 'id.' The Shirwi form appears to be a compound form composed of *Vmš (*amš?) 'one', *ñu or *ñɛw 'eight', and *χɔn 'ten'. The word was simplified in Jurchen to conform to Jurchen phonotactics and regressively assimilated to the vowel of the *χɔn element. The Shirwi word for 'nine', a compound form composed of *Vmš 'one' and *ñu/*ñɛw 'eight', is probably an innovation in that language.[30] Middle Kitan *iši 'nine'[31] is closely cognate to Middle Mongol *yisü-n* 'nine' < CSM *yiswi 'nine'.

Below is a summary of my reconstructions of the Shirwi numerals:

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26 Sanzheev noted this Manchu-Mongol correspondence (1930: 674).

27 MKit *ǰur-ən 圣与 ‹ǰur.en› 'painting-PL' (*Lang* 3:13) corresponds to 'paintings (繪)' in the Chinese text of the *Lang-chün Inscription* (Shimunek 2014: 103–104, 114).

28 Attested Middle Kitan *dalu- 六廾 ‹da.lu.› ~ *dalu 屵 ‹dalu(?)› 'seven'.

29 Attested Middle Kitan *ñɛm 伏文仐 ‹ñ.iê.êm› ~ 亜 ‹ñêm› 'eight'. See Oyuunch (2014) for the identification of 伏文仐 as an orthographic variant of 亜 'eight'.

30 See Janhunen (2003) for a similar proposal. Alternatively, the word for 'nineteen' could be an innovation in Jurchen, a blend of the native Tungusic word for 'one' (cf. Jurchen *əmu 'one') + the numeral construction for 'eighteen' borrowed from Shirwi; cf. Laufer (1921) for a similar proposal.

31 Attested Middle Kitan *iši 夭 ‹iši› 'nine'

1	*Vmš (*amš?)	11	*amš-χɔn (?)
2	*ǰir	12	*ǰir-χɔn
3	*ɢur	13	*ɢur-χɔn
4	*dur	14	*dur-χɔn
5	*tabu	15	*tabu-χɔn
6	*ñ̌ir	16	*ñ̌ir-χɔn
7	*dal	17	*dal-χɔn
8	*ñu/*ñɛw	18	*ñu-χɔn / *ñɛw-χɔn
9	*amš-ñu (?) / *amš-ñɛw (?)	19	*amš-ñu-χɔn (?) / *amš-ñɛw-χɔn (?)
10	*χɔn (← OTrk dial.)		

Sigla and Abbreviations

Sigla for Jurchen Texts

1224	*NüCS*	*Nü-chen chin-shih tʼi-ming pei* 女真進士題名碑 (for photos of rubbings, see *KMS*).
14th c.	*HIIY.Jur*	*Hua-I i-yü* 華夷譯語 Jurchen dictionary (Kiyose 1977).
n.d.	*SJM.BNL*	Berlin National Library text of the *Sino-Jurchen Memorials* (i.e. *Nü-chen-kuan Lai-wen* 女真館來文), (Kiyose 1977).[32]
n.d.	*SJM.TB*	Tōyō Bunko text of the *Sino-Jurchen Memorials* (*Nü-chen-kuan Lai-wen* 女真館來文), (Kiyose 1977).

Sigla for Kitan Assembled Script Texts

1071	*YChüeh*	*Yeh-lü Chüeh mu-chih-ming* 耶律玦墓誌銘 (Oyuunch 2012).
1080	*HsHui*	*Hsiao Hui-lien mu-chih-ming* 蕭回璉墓誌銘 (Oyuunch 2012).
1091	*YHsiang*	*Yeh-lü Hsiang-wen mu-chih* 耶律詳穩墓誌 (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010).
1101	*Tao*	*Tao-tsung huang-ti ai-tsʼe* 道宗皇帝哀冊 (Chinggeltei 2002: Liu 2014).
1105	*Hsü*	*Hsü-wang mu-chih* 許王墓誌 (Chinggeltei 2002; Liu 2014).
1114	*HsTi*	*Hsiao Ti-lu fu-shih mu-chih* 蕭敵魯副使墓誌 (Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010).
1115	*Ku*	*Ku Yeh-lü shih ming-shih* 故耶律氏銘石 (Chinggeltei 2002; Liu 2014).

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32 These memorials are numbered followed Kiyose (1977). In my sigla in this paper, the text numbers are indicated with a subscript numeral.

| 1134 | *Lang* | *Lang-chün hsing-chi* 郎君行記 (Chinggeltei 2002; Shimunek 2014; Liu 2014). |
| 1150 | *Chung* | *Hsiao Chung-kung mu-chih* 蕭仲恭墓誌 (Chinggeltei 2002; Liu 2014). |

Sigla for Chinese Texts

| *Chin Shih* | T'o-t'o [Toqto'a]. *Chin Shih* 金史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975. |
| *HTS* | Ou-yang Hsiu. *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975. |

Sigla for Mongol Texts

| *SHM* | *Secret History of the Mongols = Mongqol-un niuča tobča'an* (Kuribayashi 2009). |

General Sigla

JBB	Chin Ch'i-tsung. *Jušen bitxe buneku* 冥儹卑佩嚕. Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1984.
JT$_{RM}$	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* (جامع التواريخ). early 14th c. Edited by Muḥammad Rawshan & Muṣṭafā Mūsavī, 4 vols. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373 SH.
JT$_{Th}$	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* (جامع التواريخ). early 14th c. (trans. Thackston 2012).
KMS	Aichi Prefectural University. *Kodai Monji Shiryōkan* 古代文字資料館 (website).
SJLS	Kiyose Gisaburō. *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script.* Kyoto: Hōritsubunka-sha, 1977.

Abbreviations and Transcription Conventions

CSM	Common Serbi-Mongolic
dial.	dialect
FEM	feminine
GEN	genitive
l.	line
MASC	masculine
MKit	Middle Kitan
MMgl	Middle Mongol

n.d.	no date given
OTrk	Old Turkic
q.v.	*quod vide* (which see)
PERS.N.	personal name
PL	plural
SH	Solar Hijri date
-	morpheme boundary
*	linguistic reconstruction
.	grapheme boundary
‹ ›	transcription of orthographic form
<	language-internal change
←	borrowing or loanword between different languages

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On the Phenomeno-Logic behind some Mongolian Verbs

Ines Stolpe and Alimaa Senderjav

> We need new sets of translations across different philosophical cultures so as to rearrange the present segregation of discourses.
> BRAIDOTTI 2006: 33

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When teaching Mongolian language for beginners, lecturers in Mongolian Studies will most likely be familiar with students' questions arising from the versatility of certain words, which unfold their meaning and semantic contours only in relation to the respective contexts. The apparent dilemma of lexical ambiguity invites us to explore different horizons of interpretation by using cases of polysemy as welcome opportunities to deepen the understanding of cultural meanings. Usually, the search for examples has surprises in store.

Let us start with a question: What do the following verbs have in common?

> *to grasp, to drive, to bake, to build, to catch, to offer, to hold, to contain, to be punctual, to ban, to remain, to erect, to curb, to achieve, to maintain, to hand in, to reset, to receive, to hand over, to regret, to grip, to suppress, to gather …*

At first sight they seem to have little in common, since we associate different references with each of them. In Mongolian all these verbs (and many more) are appearing in combinations with the verb барих (*barich*).[1] Accordingly ample look dictionary entries; the Mongolian-English online-dictionary *Bolor*[2] shows 736 results for this verb alone, out of which 167 are listed as exact results.

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1 For the transcription of Modern Mongolian we use the scientific transliteration according to Vietze (1988).

2 www.bolor-toli.com. Accessed 01.07.2016.

Another example for such considerable ambiguity is a Mongolian verb to be translated into English with options like these:

> to put, to release, to compile, to listen, to build, to suggest, to be attentive, to vail, to bury, to park, to shoot, to perform, to emphasize, to offer, to acupuncture, to ask, to fire back, to give a talk, to drop, to block, to bet, to plant a bomb, to condition …

All these activities (and many more) are preferably denoted in Mongolian by using one and the same verb, i.e. тавих (*tavich*). The above-mentioned online dictionary even shows 1117 entries, out of which 72 are specified as exact results.[3]

Of course, taken by themselves, polysemy and versatility are nothing special but rather the rule (though rarely with such excessive variance), and in all these cases the object is crucial to define the meaning. Ambiguity can be often traced back to a shared context. This gives rise to our guiding question: What constitutes the shared frame of барих and тавих respectively, what is the connecting element, the referential context of all these combination possibilities? In this essay, we embark on a conceptual border-crossing between Mongolian studies and phenomenological philosophy.

In Mongolia, much is talked about a "Mongolian way of thinking" or a "Mongolian mentality" since it is believed that the thinking would have specific characteristics because Mongolians have been living as mobile pastoralists for thousands of years.[4] Linguists devote themselves to this topic as well, and M. Bazarragčaa, one of the leading etymologists of Mongolian, said that the language could be compared to a lock protecting the cognitive potential and achievements of a people, and etymology would be one of the keys to open this lock.[5] It is common knowledge that word formation in Mongolian is agglutinating, i.e. meaningful morphemes are attached to the invariable stem. In the first instance, general characteristics of a phenomenon or a circumstance are central, and the particular features are added to differentiate the meaning. The origin of Mongolian words has always been of interest to Mongolists and Altaists such as G.I. Ramstedt, N.N. Poppe, B.J. Vladimircov, T.A. Bertagajev, Sh. Ozawa, V.I. Kotvič or V.I. Rassadin who have undertaken

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3 www.bolor-toli.com. Accessed 01.07.2016.
4 At times, this kind of discourses feature geographical determinism.
5 Interview with M. Bazarragčaa (*Ardyn Erch*, 18th of September 1995: 6).

comparative studies. Mongolian scholars as for instance B. Rinčen, Š. Luvsan-vandan, Čoj. Luvsanžav, B. Bazylchan, Š. Cecencogt, B. Sum"jaabaatar, Š. Čoj-maa, B. Pürev-Očir, and B. Chürelbat have made major contributions to ety-mological research. M. Bazarragčaa explored the etymology of more than ten thousand words and concluded, that the origin of Mongolian words ultimately goes back to onomatopoeic and formative word components. B. Cerendavaa (2007) explicitly studied the polysemy of verbs and nouns in modern Mon-golian and came to the conclusion that verbs are the word class with most meanings.

Given that every language focuses awareness selectively, the question of conceptual frameworks is of particular relevance for teaching and learning processes. However, we do not focus on the morphology of the verbs selected but rather look at their context-related variability from a semasiological point of view. Taking the two versatile verbs *barich* and *tavich* as examples, our central question is how meaning is constituted, or, more specifically, how connections are made and how language as a semiotic system facilitates and structures experiences.

It is hardly controversial anymore that the diversity of languages implies differences in the perception. However, Guy Deutscher has made clear that this is not to be understood deterministically, i.e. that the existence of concepts in a language (or their absence, respectively) are by no means defining the intellectual horizon, let alone are identical with what the speakers of a certain language are capable of thinking and understanding (Deutscher 2012: 168, 175, 267). Terminology always suggests certain associations, which, especially in cases where they appear odd against the accustomed background, invite changes in perspectives.

If we look at culture as "Bedeutungszusammenhang" (Bachmann-Medick 2007: 65), i.e. as meaningful semantic and conceptual context, it may well be assumed that our polyvalent verbs in their diversification indicate culture-specific perceptions. The variability of the meaning of the transitive verbs *barich* and *tavich* emerges from the combination with nouns that function as objects. Let us take a look at some vivid examples:

to drive a car	машин барих
to catch a horse	морь барих
to bake bread	талх барих
to be punctual	цаг барих
to contain oneself	биеэ барих
to midwife	эх барих
to build a yurt / a house	гэр/байшин барих

to present a gift	бэлэг барих
to establish a connection / contact	холбоо барих
to fish	загас барих
to play an instrument	хөгжим барих
to receive (a radio or TV programme)	нэвтрүүлэг барих
to reset (dislocated joints)	яс барих

to park a car	машин тавих
to release a horse	морь тавих
to ask a question	асуулт тавих
to set a fire	гал тавих
to be attentive, to concentrate	санаа тавих
to provide food / dishes	идээ тавих
to build a road	зам тавих
to pay attention	анхаарал тавих
to fire a shot	буу тавих
to impose a condition	болзол тавих
to give a talk	илтгэл тавих
to bury a body	шарил тавих

All these syntagmatic paraphrasal light verb constructions are idioms, thus their meaning extends beyond that of their components.[6] A synopsis of examples, however, allows to identify certain body movements as *the* connecting element of meaning construction: in the case of *барих* the act of grasping, grabbing or holding, in the case of *тавих* the motion of releasing, dispatching or giving away.[7] Whether in a metaphorical sense or not, in every case one can imagine the action associated with the activity as a movement (either towards you or away from yourself).

When looking at semantic phenomena of an agglutinating language, the root word has priority. B. Žadambaa[8] explained that words starting with a 'б' (like *барих*) are often directed at the self, the 'I' (mong. би) i.e. at the own body (бие), whereas words beginning with a 'т' (such as *tavich*) are directed

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6   It is not for nothing that all nouns in these phraseologisms appear in the form of the "suffix-less" *casus indefinitus*. Paraphrasal light verb constructions (Funktionsverbgefüge) are well-researched for many languages.

7   Studies on the semantic of Mongolian words (cf. Badamdorž 2001: 34 ff.) shed light on core meanings and derivations; cf. also Bazarragčaa (1995), Vol. IV: 422.

8   Informal talk, 19.08.2014, Öndör-Ulaan *Sum*, Archangaj-*Ajmag*.

away. This statement refers to studies by M. Bazarragčaa and Čoj. Luvsanžav.[9]
Legend has it that the latter kept emphasizing during his lectures that the
meaning of *barich* refers to the 1st person, while words with the root *ta-, te-,
to-* would refer to somebody or something else and express an activity which
is directed away from the subject. This specific dynamic apparently points to
phenomena perceptible to the senses, that is, to units of experience. Hence,
we will now examine what formative power perception the sensual experience
of phenomena has and how their potential of discovering the world and of
constituting meaning appears in the language. Our observations will then be
tentatively connected to perspectives of phenomenology and practice theory.

In combinations with the verb *барих* the conceptual reference to a grasping
movement is immediately evident in many cases, as with catching a horse or
a fish. When erecting a yurt or a house, building components are grabbed, the
same applies to an instrument while being played. Even catching the signal
for receiving radio or TV-programmes can easily be imagined as a searching
grasping movement; it is not for nothing that it appears as a popular motif in
motion pictures featuring Mongolia.[10] In the case of baking bread the hands-on
movement is obvious, and one can easily imagine how the midwife (*эх баригч*)
is holding the (birthing) mother while assisting at a birth. Other idioms contain
a rather immanent metaphoric—*биеэ барих* is particularly interesting with its
reflexive-possessive suffix referring to the own body, thereby indicating that
one should have a good grip on oneself. That the idiom for being on time is
expressed by 'grabbing/holding the time' indicates the challenges inherent to
such endeavours. And that driving a car requires a firm grip on the steering
wheel is evident for everyone who has ever been driving a heavily loaded *69*
(*жаран ес*)[11] on sloping dirt roads.

Parking, or rather releasing (*тавих*) the car—or the riding animal, respec-
tively—implies the imagination of an opposite movement. Generally speaking,
something is moved away from the body of the subject, as the examples 'to
provide food' or 'to fire a shot' illustrate. The same goes for 'asking a question',
'giving a talk', 'paying attention' and 'imposing a condition', where the verb
indicates that something is directed outward, such as in the case of *санаа*

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9   Cf. M. Bazarragčaa (1995): Vol. 4: 369 ff. on the origin of the personal pronouns *bi* and *ba*.

10   For example in the movie "*Urga*" by Nikita Michalkov (1991) or in "Tale of the Weeping
       Camel" (2003) by Davaagijn Bjambasüren. In a later movie by the same director ("The Two
       Horses of Genghis Khan", 2009) the mobile phone network is caught by tossing a mobile
       phone up into the air.

11   Robust Russian Jeep without power steering. Actual name *UAZ 469*; the abbreviation
       stands for *Ul'janovskij Avtozavod*.

tavix the attention. Interestingly, 'building a road' is not composed with the verb *barix*, whose potential meaning 'building' appears to be reserved exclusively for erecting vertical objects, while in the case of 'building a road' the focus of the inherent movement is on putting something down. At the same time, roads imply that one can move away on them.

Such observations can also be illustrated by means of de-verbal nouns, like *bariul* (grip), *barimt* (fact—i.e. something tangible), *barimalč* (sculptor) and *barimžaa* (approximate distance, orientation). The last example indicates that humanity spatially orients itself by means of the body—a circumstance the phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty has particularly focussed on (we will return to that later). Other enjoyable examples are *böch barildach* (wrestling—literally: to grab each other) and *urag barildach* (to become related through marriage—literally: mutual grabbing of kin). Nouns derived from *tav'*, by contrast, such as *tavig* (offering), *tavil* (furnishings or chess match), *tavilga* (furniture, donation, offering) or *taviur* (shelf, rack) imply movements away from the subject. Fascinatingly, our two examples function as converb-combinations idiomatically in both directions: there is *barin tavin* with the meanings 'prompt', 'convincing' 'clear, open', 'immediately', 'at the earliest opportunity', 'now and then', or 'palpable', but there is also *tavin barin* meaning 'en passant' or 'in between'.

Once traced, this kind of approaches to Mongolian language invites us to look out for similar attributions. Why, one could ask, is the word *тарих* (*tarich*) used for agricultural activities (such as *ногоо тарих*—to grow vegetables, *мод тарих*—to plant a tree) as well as (in nominalized form) for injections (*тариа хийх*—to give a shot)? Both have in common the perception of penetration—either the earth's surface, or the skin. The movement is directed away from the subject as the syllable *ta-* indicates, which, according to Bazarragčaa (1995: Vol. III and IV: 27, 33, 231, 237, 277, 441) represents the extension of a movement.

Another example is *дарах* (*darach*). Its implicit downward movement obviously allows for various combinations:

to stamp / to seal	тамга дарах
to suppress one's anger	уураа дарах
to hold one's breath	амьсгаагаа дарах
to hatch / to breed	өндөг дарах
to discard a word	үг дарах
to quench a revolt	бослого дарах

Finally, *суух* (*suuch*) also appears in countless combinations, illustrating the physical experience of 'settling' or 'being stuck':

to marry someone	хүнтэй суух
to live in the countryside	хөдөө суух
to accede to the throne	хаан суух
to enter the train	галт тэргэнд суух
to be stuck in the mud	шаварт суух
to be in prison	шоронд суух

What all examples have in common is their phenomeno-logic of perceptible meaning that is connected to associations to physical movements of the subject acting. It is noteworthy indeed, that it is not the perceived as such that is focussed but the perception of the action as central connection to the world (cf. Wittgenstein's famous "seeing as").[12] Even though the nouns (objects) finally designate the meaning of the polyvalent verbs—in fact it is the sensual perception that builds the relevant referential context. This is particularly evident in the case of activities for which Mongolian designations had to be found in the more recent past—such as driving and parking cars (машин барих, машин тавих). These are combinations where it was apparently the sentient subject that structured the perception of the relation, which is why the verbs *барих* and *тавих* were associated instead of actions that actually happen with or to the object, i.e. driving, parking etc.

"Signifying practices" (Prinz 2014: 23) are at the core of cultural studies, and recent publications opt for an extension of the "translational perspective" towards "conceptual border-crossings" (Bachmann-Medick 2014: 14). Literary translator Esther Kinsky (2013: 63) emphasized that it is less the things that build the coordinate system of organising perception and experience but rather the connections and relationships between subject, object and acting. Therefore, phenomenology as "theory of experience" (Fellmann 2009: 21) suggests itself for analysis, since the processes of experiencing are described as *grasped* realities" (ibid: 29, italics i.o.).[13] Phenomenology does not primarily focus on things themselves but rather on phenomena of awareness. In contrast to empirism or sensualism, meaning does not emerge from sensual perception as such but from relations established—such as reference to the object and symbolization. This understanding is based on the concept of intentionality, which goes back to Edmund Husserl and describes the general ability to establish relations. "The experience", it reads in the dictionary of phenomeno-

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12   Wittgenstein (1971: 524 ff.). From the perspective of perception theory "Bemerken eines Aspekts" (ibid: 518) focuses on the experience of seeing things differently.

13   In German: "*begriffene* Wirklichkeiten".

logical terms, "is understood as resultant of intentional processes of meaning construction" (Vetter 2004: 311).[14]

The main reservoir of meaningful associations is the lifeworld (Lebenswelt), in which people experience themselves through acting in specific systems of relevance in their everyday life. Alfred Schütz described this taken-for-granted access to the world as "paramount reality" (1970: 320). Starting point of all lifeworld-experience is the body. It was Maurice Merleau-Ponty[15] who emphasized the role of the body as primary location of knowledge and orientation in the world, as a permanent condition of experience. For Merleau-Ponty the consciousness is first and foremost a perceptive one, which develops in interaction with the environment:

> Die Wahrheit 'bewohnt' nicht bloß den 'inneren Menschen', vielmehr es gibt keinen inneren Menschen: der Mensch ist zur Welt, er kennt sich allein in der Welt.[16]
>
> MERLEAU-PONTY 1945/66: 7

The body is always involved when experiencing the world.[17] Perception, especially of space, is constitutive as immediate access, and the verb-object-relations of our Mongolian verbs are telling examples. Merleau-Ponty sees, like Bazarragčaa and Luvsanžav, language as the core of a culture, and the connections between senses and thoughts as important dimensions. When it comes to being involved in space bodily, Mongolian offers plenty of metaphorical references between the (human) body and the landscape.[18]

Every language surely contains words through which the physical access to the world can be identified; in German, for example, verbs such as 'begreifen'[19] or 'erfahren'[20] are not far to seek. Here the semantic connection is evident in the words themselves, whereas the phenomeno-logic of our Mongolian verbs is potentiated only through their relations to the objects. What is significant

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14   In German: "Das Erfahrene wird als Resultante von intentionalen Prozessen der Sinnbildung begriffen."

15   Particularly in: *Phänomenologie der Wahrnehmung* (Merleau-Ponty 1945/1966).

16   Roughly translated, it says: "The truth does not 'inhabit' only the 'inner' person, in fact, there is no inner person: the person is for the world, knows himself only in the world".

17   For an analysis of spatial orientation in Mongolian see Kapišovská 2003.

18   For numerous examples see Humphrey (1995: 144) and Pegg (2001: 98).

19   Old High German: *begrīfan*, mhd. *begrīfen*—berühren, betasten, anfassen, erlangen, verstehen (Duden 1989, Vol. 7: 354).

20   Old High German: *irfaran*, mhd. *ervarn*—reisen, durchfahren, durchziehen (ibid: 160).

depends on the points of reference, and here the perceivable reality as corporeal experience appears to be crucial for the horizon of meanings associated. Thus, we agree with Arjun Appadurai, who underlined that difference is an important access to understanding culture:

> When we therefore point to a practice, a distinction, a conception, an object, or an ideology as having a cultural dimension (notice the adjectival use), we stress the idea of situated difference, that is, difference in relation to something local, embodied, and significant.
>
> APPADURAI 1996: 12

In our essay we experimentally created a dialogue between different approaches to study culture in order to explore new epistemic potentials. Whenever detecting meaning within knowledge systems, we consider it useful to involve a "theory of social practices", as was suggested by Andreas Reckwitz (with references to social phenomenology), into teaching. Especially the aspect of a "corporeality of acting"[21] (2003: 290) including "performativity" (ibid) is emphasised as well as the possibility to mobilize knowledge via experiences of the body. What makes approaches like this attractive is not least the question, how newly emerging phenomena of cultural globalisation will be associated and incorporated into the Mongolian language in the future, not only as nouns but also via the attribution of certain verbs.

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21   In German: "Körperlichkeit des Handelns".

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Spelling Variation in Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck Manuscripts as Evidence for Sound Changes

Jan-Olof Svantesson

In this short note I present the spelling variations found in Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck manuscripts and point out some general patterns that are significant for the phonological history of the language, leaving a detailed interpretation to specialists of the Kalmuck language.

Cornelius Rahmn (1785–1853) was a Swedish missionary who worked among the Kalmucks during the years 1819–1823, based in Sarepta, a settlement of the Moravian Brethren ("Herrnhutians") situated south of Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd). While in Sarepta, Rahmn wrote a short grammar of Kalmuck, written in Swedish, a fairly large Kalmuck–Swedish dictionary containing about 7,000 words and many example sentences and a Swedish–Kalmuck wordlist, which is basically an index to the dictionary. After his death these manuscripts were acquired by Uppsala University Library. I have translated Rahmn's grammar into English and published it as Svantesson (2009), and in 2012 I published Rahmn's dictionary, adding English translations of Rahmn's Swedish ones. See these publications and also Svantesson (2016) for more details on Rahmn's manuscripts and for some information about his life.

All Kalmuck words in Rahmn's manuscripts were written with the Kalmuck 'Clear Script'; see Kara (2005) and Rákos (2015) for the Clear Script and its significance as a source for the development of the Oirad/Kalmuck language. Many words occur in several places in the manuscripts, as headwords in the Kalmuck–Swedish dictionary, in example sentences given under other headwords, in the Swedish–Kalmuck wordlist, and in the grammar. There is quite a lot of variation in the spelling when the same word is found in different places in the manuscripts, and some of this variation is of interest for the linguistic history of Kalmuck. Altogether there are more than 900 instances of different spellings of the same word in the manuscripts. The numbers as such are of little importance, but their distribution indicates tendencies discussed below.

In my translations (and here) I transliterate the Clear Script letters with the Latin alphabet printed in boldface, see Figure 20.1. Rahmn tells very little about the pronunciation, except that his grammar starts with a table where each

	a	a		n	n		g	g		r	r
	e	ä		ŋ	ng		g	k		s	ss
	i	i		b	b		d	d		š	sch
	o	o		x	ch		t	t		z	s
	u	u		k	k		l	l		c	z
	ø	ö		ḳ	k		m	m		w	w
	y	y		g	g		j	j		h	i

FIGURE 20.1   *Kalmuck Clear Script letters in Rahmn's handwriting, my transliteration* (bold)
and Rahmn's phonetic transcription as given in the table in his grammar
(italics)

letter (and each combination of a consonant letter and a vowel letter) is tran-
scribed with the Latin alphabet. These transcriptions are given in Figure 20.1 as
well. Some *galig* letters used only in a few Tibetan loanwords are not included.
There is some variation in the spelling of Tibetan loanwords, such as **blama** ~
lama 'Lama', but I will not treat them any further here.

1   Variation between Long and Short Identical Vowels

Vowel length, which is phonemic in Kalmuck, is indicated in the Clear Script
with a small diacritic stroke, which I transliterate with a macron over the vowel
(e.g. ā). For the vowels [u] and [y], the long vowel is usually written by doubling
the vowel letter (transliterated e.g. **uu** here). In Rahmn's texts there is frequent
variation between long and short vowels with the same vowel quality, both
in initial and non-initial syllables, as shown in the following table where the
number of cases and some examples are shown. (Here and elsewhere, long
vowels are indicated with double vowel letters in the columns of the table, but
in the examples they are shown as transliterated from Rahmn's writing, printed
in bold type. For example, *uu* in the table below stands for **uu** or **ū**.)

		In initial syllables		In non-initial syllables
a/aa	17	**naran** ~ **nāran** 'hither'	48	**zurgan** ~ **zurgān** 'six'
e/ee	16	**ger** ~ **gēr** 'house'	32	**šyrge** ~ **šyrgē** 'perch'
o/oo	10	**odo** ~ **ōdo** 'now'	10	**odo** ~ **odō** 'now'
i/ii	4	**ig** ~ **ijig** 'distaff'	11	**aŋkida** ~ **aŋkīda** 'piecemeal'
ø/øø	5	**zøløn** ~ **zōløn** 'soft'	9	**øšøl** ~ **ošøl** 'hatred'

	In initial syllables		In non-initial syllables
u/uu	4	**urxai ~ uurxai** 'treasury'	4	**sajidud ~ sajidūd** 'administrator'
y/yy	–		4	**aŋgycilxu ~ aŋgyycilxu** 'hunt'

There is no obvious reason for this variation which rather seems to reflect Rahmn's lacking understanding of Kalmuck vowel length. Rahmn calls the length stroke an accent; he probably perceived long vowels as accented, since Swedish long vowels always are stressed, and this confusion of 'accented' and 'long' seems to have contributed to the variation.

2 Variation in the Spelling of Rounded Vowels

		In initial syllables		In non-initial syllables
u/y	7	**sule ~ syle** 'oats'	37	**metu ~ mety** 'like'
u/o	23	**uŋdān ~ oŋdān** 'another'	18	**odun ~ odon** 'star'
y/ø	23	**kygšin ~ køgšin** 'old'	13	**ødyr ~ 'ødør** 'day'
uu/ou	9	**tuulai ~ toulai** 'hare'	7	**xaduur ~ xadour** 'sickle'
o/ø	6	**oški ~ øški** 'lung'	4	**bøgso ~ bøgsø** 'rump'
ui/oi	4	**ujidxan ~ ojidxan** 'narrow'	5	**tologui ~ tologoi** 'head'
o/ou	8	**modun ~ moudun** 'tree'	–	
yy/øy	5	**syyl ~ søyl** 'tail'	3	**kecyy ~ kecøy** 'difficult'
øø/øy	5	**søl ~ søyl** 'tail'	3	**gyrōsun ~ gyrøysun** 'wild goat'
oo/ou	5	**xōsun ~ xousun** 'empty'	1	**ogōto ~ ogouto** 'certainly'
ou/øy	3	**ourag ~ øyrag** 'yolk'	3	**šoboun ~ šobøyn** 'bird'
ø/øy	5	**øsky ~ øysky** 'grow'	–	
yy/øø	3	**cȳn ~ cōn** 'few'	1	**tølyysyn ~ tølōsun** 'payment'
u/ø	2	**tula ~ tølø** 'because'	2	**bøšmud ~ bøšmød** 'coat'
uu/yy	–		4	**bøsluur ~ bøslyyr** 'hoop'
ou/yy	–		4	**ciŋnour ~ ciŋnyyr** 'pound'

in all syllables: 3 each: u/ui, o/y, yy/ø, yi/øi, øø/øi, øy/iy.
2 each: uu/oo, ui/yi, oo/øø, ou/iu, ou/iy, yy/yi, øy/øi
1 each: uu/oi, uu/iy, oo/oi, oi/ou, oi/øi, y/yi yy/øi, yi/ø, yi/øi, ø/øi.

In Rahmn's manuscripts, there is quite some confusion between the rounded vowel qualities [u], [o], [y] and [ø] and also with the vowels written **ou** and **øy**. The vowels **ou** and **øy** were originally diphthongs, but developed to monophthongs in the modern language, merging with **uu** and **yy**, respectively. It can be observed that the variations *uu*/*ou* and *yy*/*øy* are fairly common, which might indicate that they had merged by Rahmn's time. On the other hand, the variations *øø*/*øy* and *yy*/*øø* also occur, and perhaps Rahmn had some difficulty to hear the difference between Kalmuck [y] and [ø] although Swedish has similar vowels. Variation between short **y** and **ø** is also very common in the manuscripts. Rákos (2015: 353) mentions possible changes in the quality of Oirad and Kalmuck *ø* and *y* as one process in need of further analysis. The rounded vowels are also discussed in my introductions to Rahmn's grammar and dictionary.

3   Variation in the Spelling of Other Vowels

	In initial syllables		In non-initial syllables
a/u	–	51	**amar** ~ **amur** 'peace'
			buga ~ **bugu** 'deer'
e/y	1 **kedyi** ~ **kydøi** 'how much'	37	**gedesen** ~ **gedysyn** 'belly'
			kyrel ~ **kyryl** 'metal'
e/ø	10 **ebør** ~ **øbør** 'horn'	18	**ønder** ~ **øndør** 'high'
			melšeky ~ **mølšeky** 'trace'
e/i	3 **jeru** ~ **jir** 'indeed'	22	**jeren** ~ **jerin** 'ninety'
a/e	1 **šabi** ~ **šebi** 'pupil'	21	**bida** ~ **bide** 'we'
a/i	5 **šalgadag** ~ **šilgadag** 'chosen'	13	**tanaxu** ~ **tanixu** 'know'
a/o	–	18	**bosxaxu** ~ **bosxoxu** 'raise'
ai/ei	–	17	**tabtai** ~ **tabtei** 'well'
u/e	–	12	**mendusun** ~ **mendesen** 'farewell'
y/i	5 **ylde** ~ **ildu** 'sabre'	5	**ilyky** ~ **iliky** 'press'
ei/ii	5 **kejid** ~ **kijid** 'monastery'	–	
u/i	1	4	**uruldān** ~ **urildān** 'horse race'
o/i	1 **colou** ~ **zilou** 'stone'	3	**sormoson** ~ **sormison** 'eyelid'
aa/ee	–	4	**milā** ~ **malē** 'horsewhip'
aa/oo	–	4	**zobāxu** ~ **zobōxu** 'torment'

in all syllables: 3 each: a/ai, aa/ai, aa/ii, ai/oi, ee/øø.
2 each: a/y, a/ø, aa/i, e/ei, ee/ei.
1 each: a/oi, ai/ou, ai/ee, ai/i, o/e, e/øø, ee/ii, ei/i, ø/i, øø/ii.

This table shows spelling variations involving other vowels than those treated in sections 1 and 2. Many of these variations can be attributed to ongoing phonological processes; see Rákos (2015: 353) for an overview of relevant phonological changes.

One such process is *i*-assimilation ("breaking"), which is responsible for most instances of spelling variation between an initial back vowel and [i], see examples in the table above; another example is **šatāxu** ~ **šitāxu** 'light'. See also section 6.

Another phonological process is palatalization of initial back vowels conditioned by [i] in the following syllable, which is suggested by only a few examples: see *a/e* above and *o/ø* in section 2. Another example is **orkiba** ~ **ørkiba** 'abandoned'. Some cases of *o/ø* variation, such **oron** ~ **ørøn** 'realm', are not due to palatalization, however.

Dialectal variation between initial *e* and *ø*, often when one of the surrounding consonants is labial, is another feature mentioned by Rákos (2015: 353). There are rather many examples of this in Rahmn's manuscripts.

Table 20.1 shows the initial vowel (column to the left) and the number of instances of spelling variation in short non-initial vowels. The category 'other' includes long vowels and diphthongs, and also cases where the variants of the same word are written with different initial vowels.

Altogether, there is much more spelling variation in non-initial than in initial syllables: about 620 and 220 instances, respectively. This is largely due to vowel reduction in non-initial syllables. As is well known, originally short vowels in non-initial syllables were reduced in modern Kalmuck (see e.g. Bläsing 2003). They are often analyzed as non-phonemic schwas and are not written in the Cyrillic Kalmuck script. In some cases they disappeared completely.

There is often a correlation between the vowel of the initial syllable and different types of spelling variation in non-initial syllables, as shown for the most frequent variations in Table 20.1. Incidentally, this table also shows that Rahmn's spellings often—but far from always—follow vowel harmony, a phenomenon he seems to have been unaware of, and never mentions explicitly in his manuscripts.

Some types of variations in the spelling of non-initial vowels has other causes than vowel reduction, however. The variations *a/o* and *e/ø* in non-initial syllables are most often found when the initial vowel is *o* and *ø*, respectively (see Table 20.1). This should be due to the presence or absence of rounding harmony in different Kalmuck dialects. The variations *u/o* and *y/ø*, which occur almost exclusively when the initial vowel is *o* or *ø*, respectively, may also be due to rounding harmony.

Still, most variations in the spelling of non-initial vowels indicate that the reduction of short non-initial vowels had taken place by Rahmn's time. This

TABLE 20.1 *Different spellings of short vowels in non-initial syllables and initial vowels*

	a/u	e/y	u/e	a/o	e/ø	u/o	y/ø	a/e	u/y	a/i	e/i	ai/ei
a	26		1	3		1		1	1	6	1	6
e	2	11	6					1	15		10	
u	15		2			1		3		2		4
y		14						2	4		5	
o	1			14		9		2	1	1		1
ø		3			11		12	2	6			
i		4						6	4	1	4	1
other	7	5	3	1	7	7	1	4	6	3	2	5

is the case for the alternations *a/u* and *e/y*, where the initial vowel usually is the same as one of the vowels involved (Table 20.1). The other variations shown in Table 20.1 are distributed more randomly in relation to the initial vowel, but taken together they show that short non-initial vowels must have been reduced and easily confused (if distinguished at all) by Rahmn's time. For example, the fact that the variation *a/u* occurs in non-initial syllables in the spelling of 51 words while there is no such variation in initial syllables strongly suggests that there was an easily perceptible difference between [a] and [u] in initial syllables but not in non-initial syllables.

It should be remarked that the variation *a/e* is most often found in the verbal suffix *-gsan/gsen*, and that all instances of *ai/ei* except one is in the comitative suffix *-tai/tei*.

4   Vowel ~ Zero Alternation in Non-Initial Syllables

a	48	**araki** ~ **arki** 'liquor'	**kimara** ~ **kimar** 'milk mixture'
e	18	**cimegen** ~ **cimgen** 'marrow'	**gezige** ~ **gezig** 'nape of neck'
u	12	**souluga** ~ **soulga** 'bucket'	**jeru** ~ **jir** 'indeed'
i	7	**eliken** ~ **elken** 'belly'	
ø	4	**køtørømø** ~ **køtørmø** 'band'	**øbørø** ~ **øbør** 'different'
o	3	**xoroxoi** ~ **xorxoi** 'worm'	**dotoro** ~ **dotor** 'interior'

Altogether there are 92 instances of vowel ~ zero alternation in Rahmn's manuscripts, confirming that reduction of non-initial vowels was common by Rahmn's time. It should be remarked that only short vowels are involved in this variation.

There are a few examples where non-initial short vowels occur in different places, also suggesting that they were non-phonemic: **dašaxtēi** ~ **dašxatēi** 'twisting'; **cindaralxu** ~ **cindarlaxu** 'burn'; **elegleky** ~ **elgelky** 'scorn'.

5   Variation in the Spelling of Consonants

c/z	27	**cagān** ~ **zagān** 'white'	**ylemcin** ~ **ylemzin** 'Mercury'
k/g	17	**køjiky** ~ **gøjiky** 'run'	**tamaki** ~ **tamagi** 'tobacco'
s/š	12	**sezig** ~ **šezig** 'doubt'	**biskyyr** ~ **biškyyr** 'flute'
x/g	8	**xargaxu** ~ **gargaxu** 'meet'	**alixa** ~ **aliga** 'palm (of hand)'
n/ŋ	6	**erbin** ~ **erbiŋ** 'thyme'	
t/d	5	**dabtaxu** ~ **dabdaxu** 'persecute'	
ķ/g	5	**uķāxu** ~ **ugāxu** 'wash'	
m/n	5	**erkim** ~ **erkin** 'foremost'	
b/g	4	**deberky** ~ **degerky** 'bubble over'	**šybyrlig** ~ **šygyrlig** 'sterlet'
2 each: c/s, c/š			
1 each: c/t, k/x, š/z			

Spelling variation is much less frequent for consonants than for vowels; only about 100 instances have been found. The most common case is variation between **c** and **z**. In the table of the Clear Script alphabet in Rahmn's grammar, he denotes the pronunciation of these two letters with the letters *s* and *z*,

respectively, presumably to be pronounced as in German, i.e. IPA [z] and [ts]. He also indicates that they are pronounced in this way before all vowels, including **i**.

It is difficult to understand the rather common variation between **c** and **z**. Rykin (2014) treats variation in these consonants in ancient and modern Mongolic languages and finds quite a lot of variation, but few of his examples match those found in Rahmn's manuscripts. It is not entirely clear how **c** and **z** were pronounced and there is some variation between similar consonant pairs such as **k ~ g**, **x ~ g** and **t ~ d** in Rahmn's texts as well. Rahmn might have had difficulites to interpret the contrast between the Kalmuck consonants in relation to the Swedish voiceless (and slightly aspirated) vs. voiced consonant contrast. Some spelling variation may also be due to the graphic similarity of the Clear Script letters **c** and **z** (Figure 20.1).

In addition to this there is variation between syllable-final nasals in some words. This may be due to dialect differences or perhaps to influence from written Mongolian.

6   Consonant ~ Zero Alternation

g	9	**sagātal** ~ **sātal** 'obstacle'	**šugurxu** ~ **šuurxu** 'burst'
j	4	**izour** ~ **jozour** 'trunk'	**irøl** ~ **jørøl** 'blessing'
b	2	**turšibēr** ~ **turšār** 'always'	

The rather few cases of consonant ~ zero alternation involve well-known phonological processes: the loss of *g* or *b* resulting in long vowels, and *i*-assimilation resulting in "breaking" (*i* > *jo* or *jø* if the non-initial vowel is *o* and *ø*, respectively); see also section 3. Here again, it is difficult to assess if this is due to linguistic changes or to influence from written Mongolian.

In conclusion, although it is difficult to sort out if the different instances of spelling variation in Rahmn's manuscripts are due to ongoing phonological changes, to dialect variation, to influence from the written tradition or to mistakes by Rahmn, I think this material may be of some use for investigating the phonological history of Kalmuck.

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Four Tungusic Etymologies

Alexander Vovin

Prof György Kara is internationally renowned specialist in Mongolian. Few people, however, know that he was one of the key persons to keep Tungusic Studies alive in the USA by the simple virtue of offering courses on Ewenki and Nanai at the Indiana University. As the French would say, je lui tire mon chapeau. This modest contribution offered to him on the occasion of his eightieth birthday to celebrate his eminence not only as a Mongolist, but also as of a Tungusologist.

The goal of this article is to shed light on some obscure words in Tungusic languages.

Manchu *nikan* 'Chinese'

On the first glance, the etymology of this ethnic name appears to be obscure. For many years I thought that it might be a loan from Early Middle Chinese *ńin^A kean^A* (人間) 'person, human being', but I still had great reservations, mostly due to the fact that 'human being' is mostly reserved by the ethnic entity for itself, like Ainu *aynu* 'human being, Ainu' or Chukcki *luorawetlan* 'real human being, Chukchi'. From this point of view, it would be very strange if Manchus called their Chinese enemies 'human beings'. We should expect something much more pejorative. Also, from the phonetic point of view, Early Middle Chinese *ńin^A kean^A* (人間) 'person, human being' would most likely be borrowed into Manchu as *ningiyan or *ningen, In addition, Early Middle Chinese initial *ń*- became *ńź*- in Late Middle Chinese, finally becoming *ʐ*- in Early (and modern) Chinese. A direct loan from Early Middle Chinese into proto-Manchu also seemed unlikely.

The moment of truth came about five or six years ago, when Pamela Crossby asked a question on the Manchu Studies discussion list about the etymology of Manchu *nikan* 'Chinese'. Then it suddenly dawned on me that the etymology practically lies on the surface, if one is going to follow what one preaches. And I preached twenty years ago that the contrast between Manchu medial *-h*- and *-k*- is to be interpreted as reflecting proto-Manchu *-k- and *-nk- respectively (Vovin 1997).

One can find the following comparative Tungusic data: Neghidal *nikan* 'robber, brigand', Nanai *ńiqa*, Uilta *ńaqqa(n-)* 'slave, servant', Ulchi *ńiqa(n-)* 'slave', Udihe *niŋka* 'laborer'. Oroch *ńiŋka* 'slave' (SSTMIa 1975: 590). While Neghidal and Southern Tungusic do not have the cluster *-ŋk-* and, therefore, appear to be late loanwords from Manchu although Uilta *-qq-* seems to be a trace of it, Northern Tungusic[1] Udihe and Oroch clearly have *-ŋk-*. Regardless of the phonetic details, the semantic fit seems to be almost perfect: 'robber, slave, servant'—what could be more offensive to an enemy?

Oroch and Uilta *ilau* 'Ritual Whittled Pieces of Wood'

So far, the only etymology connecting Tungusic with Ainu directly (with the exception of obvious Eurasian Wanderwörter) that was proposed is limited to Ulchi *nauji* 'ritual whittled pieces of wood' vs. Ainu *inaw* 'id.' (SSTMIa 1975: 587), but the authors of the SSTMIa overlooked even more obvious and less problematic Oroch and Uilta *ilau* 'id.' (1975: 306). The directionality of borrowing here is not absolutely clear, for example Janhunen thinks that it is a Tungusic loan in Ainu (1996: 176). However, given the fact that the Tungusic attestations are limited to the Tungusic languages of Primor'ie and Priamur'ie, this object of ritual worship cannot be possibly of a pan-Tungusic origin. In addition, Ainu *-n-* > Tungusic *-l-* seems much more likely than Tungusic *-l-* to Ainu *-n-* (Ainu *-r-* would be expected), and, more importantly, the final diphthong *-au* seems to be strange for the Tungusic phonotacticts. Therefore, the Ainu provenance is more probable.

Oroch *magiri* 'Broad Knife for Cutting Bread'

There is another etymology, where the Ainu origins are quite uncontroversial.

Oroch *magiri* 'broad knife for cutting bread' (SSTMIa 1975: 520). This word is not attested in other Tungusic languages. The immediate source of origin seems to be from Ainu: Yakumo *makirí* 'butcher knife', Horobetsu, Obihiro *makíri* 'small knife', Saru, Bihoro, Asahikawa, Nayoro, Sōya *makíri* 'small knife, butcher knife', Raichiska *pon-makiri* 'small knife' (*pon* 'small') (Hattori 1964: 120–121) < PA *makíri, as demonstrated by the phonetic shape of the word in Oroch: *magiri*, since Ainu *makíri* is phonetically [magiri] or [maGiri]. However, Ainu

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1 On Udihe and Uilta as Northern Tungusic languages see Georg (2004).

makíri is too long to be an Ainu root. The word suspiciously looks like a Japanese one: *ma*, intensive prefix + *kir-* 'to cut' + *-i*, nominalizer: 'the one that cuts truly well', although to the best of my knowledge *makiri* is not attested in Japanese.

Nanai *saqo*, Kur-Urmi *saqʊ* 'Water (Stale, of a Rusted Color)'

This is, of course, not a normal Tungusic word for 'water', and it is very localized in the Amur region. The most probable origin is from Nivx *čʰaχ* 'water'. Nivx, of course, underwent a bizarre process of initial fricatives fortition, as witnessed by Nivx *čʰamŋ* 'shaman' < Tungusic *saman 'id.'. This etymology has also a value for the proto-Nivx reconstruction. Nivx final fricative *-χ* indicates a presence of a final vowel in proto-Nivx, but there is no way we can recover the exact nature of this vowel either by the internal reconstruction or by comparing extant Nivx dialects in accordance with the Comparative Method. However, the presence of a Tungusic loan from the Nivx language in this case allows us to reconstruct this vowel as either *o or *ʊ.

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Zum Werktitel mongolischer Texte seit dem 17. Jahrhundert

Michael Weiers

Vorliegender Beitrag stellt sich die Aufgabe, den Textteil, der in vielen mongolischen Texten seit dem 17. Jahrhundert am Textbeginn aufscheint, oder sich auf einem eigenen Vorsatzblatt aufgeführt findet, und der in der Regel als Titel des gesamten Textes verstanden bzw. interpretiert wird, anhand einiger einschlägiger Textbeispiele genauer zu untersuchen, und womöglich neu zu bestimmen.[1]

Im Zentrum der Untersuchung steht dabei der Vermerk *orosiba ~ orosibai*, der am Ende etlicher als Titel bezeichneter und gewerteter Textpassagen auftritt. Vorliegende Untersuchung nimmt an, daß dieser Vermerk auf einen oder mehrere Texte hinweist, auf die der jeweilige Text zurückgeht und/oder sich von ihnen speist.

Im Folgenden erscheinen die einzelnen einschlägigen Textpassagen abgehandelt jeweils unter arabischen Ziffern bzw. unter A B C D als Aufzählungszeichen.

1

Die hier behandelten beiden Textpassagen, die der Übersetzung des Siregetü guosi Čorǰiva vom Ende des 16. oder Anfang des 17. Jh.s entstammen (für ihn und zu seiner Übersetzung siehe Heissig 1959: 26–34 und Textanhang: 28–29), finden sich in der hier herangezogenen Textfassung einmal unter *A* auf einem unpaginierten Umschlagblatt. Zum andern unter *B* mit einer Umrandung versehen auf einem unpaginierten Vorsatzblatt. Textpassage *B* ist gegenüber *A* unterschiedlich angeordnet sowie in einem zu *A* abweichenden Duktus geschrieben. Der Duktus verweist auf das 18. Jh. als Zeitraum für die Abfassung der Handschrift.

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1 Der Verfasser hat bereits einen kurzen, inhaltlich ähnlichen Beitrag veröffentlicht (vgl. Weiers 2005), der hier in stark erweiterter sowie umgestalteter Fassung vorgelegt wird.

A

(1) *čiqula kereglegči* (2) *tegüs udaq-a* (sic!) *-tu* (3) *neretü sastir :*

Abhandlung mit dem Namen *Mit allen Erklärungen, die man wirklich benötigt.*

B

(1) *čiqula* (2) *kereg* (3) *legči* (4) *tegüs* (5) *udq-a* (6) *tu* (7) *šastir* (8) *oro* (9) *šibai*[2] *:*

Die *Abhandlung mit allen Erklärungen, die man wirklich benötigt* hat man [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] eingetragen ~ ... hat [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] vorge-legen ~ ... hat es [als Abschrift ~ Kopie schon] gegeben.[2]

Die Textvariante *A* ist sprachlich unklar. Sie ist wohl von nur gesprochensprach-lich geübter, geschriebensprachlich hingegen wenig geschulter Hand niederge-schrieben worden. Dies erweist sich nicht nur an der fehlerhaften Orthogra-phie, sondern auch am Satzbau, der die Passage *tegüs udaq-a* (sic!) *-tu* konstru-iert ohne Bezug auf ein freies, nicht suffigiertes, oder durch ein Attribut wie *neretü* nicht determiniertes Benennungsnomen.

Die Textvariante *B* gibt hingegen eindeutig zu erkennen, daß der Titel des Werkes lautet: *Abhandlung mit allen Erklärungen, die man wirklich benötigt.* Zu diskutieren bleibt noch lediglich, inwieweit dem Fremdwort *šastir* (< skr. *śāstra* „Abhandlung; Lehrschrift") im mongolischen Bereich die Funktion einer Textsorte zugesprochen werden kann oder sollte.

2

Die hier herangezogene Titelpassage geht auf einen Text zurück, der bereits im 16. Jh. in mehreren mongolischsprachigen Fassungen bekannt gewesen sein

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2 Mong. *orosi-* soll hier versuchsweise bezogen auf das Erstellen eines Textes interpretiert und aufgefaßt werden als ‚eintragen', d.h. einen Text nicht urschriftlich verfassen, sondern ihn eintragen, und zwar als Abschrift oder Kopie eines vorliegenden urschriftlichen, oder ebenfalls schon abgeschriebenen (kopierten) Textes. Vgl. auch mong. *orosi-* ‚être; exister' (Kovalevski 1844: 455a). Hiernach wird *orosibai* übersetzt als: ‚... war da, war vorhanden, hat es gegeben; hat vorgelegen'.

soll.[3] Die hier benutzte Handschrift des Textes gibt jedoch nicht die originale urschriftliche Fassung wieder, sondern sie stammt, dem Duktus der Schrift nach zu urteilen, aus der späteren Mandschuzeit (19. Jh.).

(1) *mongɣol-un ulus-un arban buyan-tu nom-un* (2) *čaɣan teüke ner-e -tü sudur orosibai ::*

Das Sudur[4] mit dem Namen *Weiße Geschichte der zehn verdienstvollen Lehren des Volkes der Mongolen* hat man [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] eingetragen ~ hat [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] vorgelegen.

Die zeitliche Zuweisung der Titelpassage sowie ihr Vermerk *orosibai* lassen es als sicher erscheinen, daß vorliegender Text eine späte Abschrift ~ Kopie eines urschriftlichen Originals bzw. einer anderen früheren Abschrift ist, die beide vom vorliegenden Handschrifttext erheblich abweichen können.

3

Nachfolgende Textpassage führt den Außentitel einer modernen Abschrift auf, die auf eine im frühen 17. Jh. erstellte mongolische Übersetzung aus dem Tibetischen zurückgeht (vgl. Heissig 1959: 35 zu Fußnote 7). Die spätere Entstehungszeit der Abschrift mag als Beispiel dafür dienen, daß möglicherweise ein in einer früheren Vorlage belegtes *orosiba* später auch weggelassen worden sein kann, d.h. anstatt ... *čadiɣ-un tuɣuǰi orosiba* nurmehr ... *čadiɣ-un tuɣuǰi* in der Titelpassage aufscheint:

(1) *enedkeg töbed-ün bodisung qad-un ači-yi* (2) *delgerenggüi-e ügülegsen čadiɣ[5]-un tuɣuǰi*

Geschichte von Lebensbeschreibungen[5], die man erzählt hat zwecks Verbreitung der Verdienste von Bodhisatva-Königen Tibets und Indiens.

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3 Vgl. zu diesem Text: Heissig 1959: 17–26; Textfaksimile ebd. im Textanhang, 2. Eine ausführliche Studie dieses Textes vgl. Sagaster 1976.

4 Das eingebürgerte mo. Fremdwort *sudur* < skr. *sūtra* „Faden, Kette" bezeichnet ursprünglich einen in Bahnlesung fortlaufenden buddhistischen Lehrtext.

5 Eingebürgertes mo. Fremdwort *čadiɣ* < skr. *jātaka* „Geschichten", besonders aus dem Leben herausragender Vorgänger = Lebensbeschreibungen.

Das mo. Wort *tuɣuǰi* ist eines von mehreren Wörtern, die für den Begriff „Geschichte" Verwendung finden. Darzulegen, inwiefern sich diese einzelnen Begriffe für ‚Geschichte' voneinander unterscheiden, und ob es sich bei diesen Begriffen um jeweils spezifische Textsorten der Historie bzw. Historiographie handelt, gehört noch zu den Aufgaben zukünftiger Studien.

4

Das erste umfangreiche erzählgeschichtliche Werk des 17. Jh.s in mongolischer Sprache, das der Forschung bekannt geworden ist, wird in das Jahr 1655 datiert.[6] Das Werk zeichnet sich u. a. besonders dadurch aus, daß es den Großteil des Textes der aus dem frühen 15. Jh. überlieferten sogenannten „Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen" in uigurisch-mongolischer Schrift enthält, und damit das mongolische Geschichtsbild des 13. Jh.s mit dem im 17. Jh. neu etablierten pseudohistorischen Geschichtsbild des Lamaismus in Verbindung bringt.

> (1) *erten-ü* (2) *qad-un* (3) *ündüsü-* (4) *legsen* (5) *törö* (6) *yosun-u* (7) *ǰokiyali* (8) *quriyaɣsan* (9) *altan* (10) *tobči* (11) *kemekü* (12) *orosibai ::*

> Das, was man als das Schrifttum der ursprünglichen Regierungsordnung der Herrscher der Frühzeit zusammengetragen hat, und das man *Altan Tobči* (d. h. ‚Goldene Zusammenfassung') nennt, hat man [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] eingetragen ~ ... hat [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] vorgelegen.

Die hier angesprochene und unter dem Werktitel *Altan Tobči* (= AT 1655) geführte Erzählgeschichte ist in mehreren Handschriften und Drucken überliefert worden (vgl. Heissig 1959: 50 f. zu Fußnote 6 und Bira 1990: 11–16 englisches Vorwort). Die Werktitel weichen dabei verschiedentlich voneinander ab, so daß ein zukünftig durchgeführter Abgleich zwischen ihnen womöglich Überlieferungslinien oder vielleicht sogar Anhaltspunkte für Überlieferungstypen dieses Werkes liefern könnte.

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6 Ausführliche Würdigung und Beschreibung dieses Werkes vgl. Heissig 1959: 50–75. Hier herangezogene Faksimile-Textausgabe: Bira 1990.

5

Nur wenige Jahre nach dem Geschichtswerk AT (1655) vollendete im Jahre 1662 Saγang Sečen ein ebenfalls erzählgeschichtliches Werk, das zu den bei den Mongolen am weitest verbreiteten mongolischen Geschichtswerken zählt.[7] Der Werktitel dieser Geschichtsdarstellung ist in der hier herangeogenen Faksimile-Textausgabe nur dem Epilog zu entnehmen: ET/U 96v:28/29:

> (28) *qad-un* (29) *ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči*

> *Zusammenfassung aus Edelgestein über den Ursprung der Herrscher*
> (Kurztitel: *Zusammenfassung aus Edelgestein = Erdeni-yin Tobči = ET*).

Das ET ist unter verschiedenen Titeln verbreitet worden.[8] Ein Abgleich der verschiedenen Titel mag auch hier womöglich Traditionslinien oder sogar Anhaltspunkte für Typen der Überlieferung dieses Werkes liefern.

Inhaltlich bietet das ET nicht nur für seine eigene Darstellung der mongolischen Geschichte eine rein pseudohistorische, buddhistisch-lamaistisch ausgelegte Interpretationsfolie, sondern es hat auch in dieser Hinsicht als Vorlage und Muster gedient für alle späteren mongolischen historiographischen oder literarhistorischen Werke wie z.B. für die historische Novelle *Köke Sudur* aus dem 19. Jahrhundert (Hangin 1973).

Neben den bisher hier berücksichtigten Texten mit historischer Ausrichtung aus dem 17. Jh., auf deren Grundlage in den folgenden Jahrhunderten mehrere weitere mongolische Chroniken entstanden sind, hat das mongolische Schrifttum auch noch etliche Texte überliefert, die einer ganz anderen Textgattung zugehören. Es handelt sich dabei um mongolische volksreligiöse und folkloristische Texte aus europäischen Bibliotheken, die in Umschrift mit einer Einleitung sowie einem Glossar veröffentlicht worden sind (vgl. Heissig 1966). Aus dieser Veröffentlichung werden im Folgenden einige Textpassagen aufgeführt, die speziell die Vermerke *orosiba ~ orosibai* betreffen. Da die bisher aufgeführten Textbeispiele einer anderen Textgattung entstammen als die nunmehr folgenden, werden die letzteren weiteren Textbeispiele unter **A B C** us.w. vor-

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7   Zu diesem Geschichtswerk und seinem Verfasser sowie zu Datierung, Inhalt, und zu seinen Bezügen vgl. ausführlich und grundlegend: Heissig 1959: 94–111. Hier herangezogene Faksimile-Textausgabe: Haenisch 1955 (= ET).

8   Vgl. Angaben zu den verschiedenen Handschriften und Ausgaben in: Heissig 1959: 94f. unter Fußnote 2, a)–r). de Rachewiltz/Krueger 1990: v–vi. Chiodo/Sagaster 1996: 29.

gestellt werden. Inhaltlich dürften diese Texte als volksreligiöse Texte u. a. auch religionspolitisch von Interesse sein (vgl. unter **A** zu Fußnote 10).

A

ɣal-un sudur orosiba

Das *Sudur*[9] *auf das Feuer* hat [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] vorgelegen.

Der Titel des Schriftstücks lautet: *Sudur auf das Feuer*. Das sanskritische *Sudur* ‚Lehrtext' im Titel dürfte gewählt worden sein um anzudeuten, daß der Textinhalt mit *čayan šasin* ‚weiße Lehre' in Einklang stehe. Mit ‚weiße Lehre ~ Religion' war der Lamaismus gemeint, der im frühen 17. Jh. begann, den indigenen Schamanismus als *qar-a šasin* ‚schwarze Lehre ~ Religion' zu unterdrücken.[10] Der Vermerk *orosiba* mag vor diesem Hintergrund dazu gedient haben anzuzeigen, daß womöglich verbotene schamanistische Inhalte im Text sich Textvorlagen verdankten, deren Inhalt nicht gänzlich verwerflich sei. Auf diese Weise mochte verbotenes schamanistisches Gedankengut bei den Mongolen trotz Unterdrückung der Schwarzen Lehre auch weiterhin Verbreitung gefunden haben.

B

(1) *qutuɣtu burqan baɣsi-yin ǰokiyaɣsan* (2) *ɣal-un burqan-i takiqu sudur orosiba*

Das vom heiligen Lehrer Buddha verfaßte *Sudur, das den Feuer-Buddha verehrt* hat [als Abschrift ~ Kopie] vorgelegen.

Der Titel des Schriftstücks (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 69–74) lautet: *Sudur, das den Feuer-Buddha verehrt*. Die Angabe der Textsorte *Sudur* im Titel dürfte auch hier aus dem gleichen Grunde wie in der vorhergehend besprochenen Titelpassage mit Bedacht vorgenommen worden sein. In der hier vorliegenden Titelpassage wird sogar noch zusätzlich vermerkt, daß das Sudur den heiligen Lehrer Buddha zum Verfasser habe.

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9 Zu „*Sudur*" vgl. oben Fußnote 4. Zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 66–69.

10 Vgl. hierzu ausführlich den Abschnitt „Die lamaistische Unterdrückung des Schamanismus", in: *Religionen der Menschheit 20*, 338–348.

C₁

(1) *qutuɣtu degedü ɣal-a takiqu sudur* (2) *qutuɣtu degedü ɣal-a takiqu sudur-a orosiba* (3) *ɣurban erdeni-iyer bodoɣsan sudur*

(1) *Sudur, das dem heiligen hohen Feuer Ehre erweist.* (2) *Dem Sudur, das dem heiligen hohen Feuer Ehre erweist, hat vorgelegen* (3) *das Sudur, das über die drei Kostbarkeiten meditiert hat.*

Der Titel des Schriftstücks (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 74–76) lautet: *Sudur, das dem heiligen hohen Feuer Ehre erweist.* Die Titelpassage teilt in Zeile (2) durch *orosiba* ‚hat vorgelegen' mit, daß der Text auf einer Vorlage beruht, und in Zeile (3) wird dann der Titel der Vorlage mitgeteilt. Bei der Vorlage handelt es sich um ein Sudur zur Meditation über die *Drei Kostbarkeiten*.[11]

C₂

Auf der Rückseite des 76 Zeilen umfassenden Sudurtextes finden sich noch weitere Vermerke, die jeweils durch den Hinweis *orosiba* ‚hat vorgelegen' noch weitere Angaben zu Vorlagen des Textes beibringen:

erdeni-yin sudur-a orosiba ɣurban erdeni-yin ǰokiyaɣsan ɣal-a-un sudur-a orosiba

Für das Sudur der Kostbarkeiten hat es [Vorlagen ~ Kopien] gegeben. Für das Feuer-Sudur, das man von den Drei Kostbarkeiten verfaßt hat, haben [Vorlagen ~ Kopien] vorgelegen.

Auch diese Zusätze lassen sich interpretieren als Hinweise darauf, daß man in einem Text Passagen, die der bekämpften Schwarzen Lehre entstammten, als unabsichtlich stehengebliebene oder akzeptable Reste aus Vorlagen ausgeben konnte, um so wenigstens Elemente der Schwarzen Lehre schriftlich weiter zu tradieren.

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11   Diejenigen, die sich zum Buddhismus bekehren, nehmen zu den *Drei Kosbarkeiten* (skr. *triratna*; tib. *dKon mchog gsum*; mong. *ɣurban erdeni*) ihre Zuflucht. Die drei Kostbarkeiten sind 1. Buddha (skr. *Buddha*; tib. *sangs-rgyas*; mong. *burqan*). 2. Gemeinschaft der Mönche (skr. *saṃgha*; tib. *dGe-'dun*; mong. *quvaraɣ*). 3. Lehre (skr. *dharma*; tib. *chos*; mong. *nom*).

D

Der hier zu besprechende Text führt am Textbeginn als Titel auf:

> *tngri-yin qaγan ǰokiyaγsan sudur*
>
> *Sudur verfaßt vom Herrscher des Himmels* (Zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 82–87).

Wenn *sudur* auch auf einen buddhistischen Lehrtext der Weißen Lehre hin-weisen mag, so weist der *tngri-yin qaγan* ‚Herrscher des Himmels‘ doch ganz sicher nicht hin auf den buddhistischen Lamaismus. Weil schon allein der Titel deutlich macht, daß es sich bei dem Text um einen Text der bekämpften Schwarzen Lehre handelt, finden sich auf dem Umschlag des Textes Hinweise, die genau dem Wortlaut der Hinweise, die oben unter C$_2$ schon besprochen worden sind, entsprechen. Hier hat man also vielleicht im Sinne eines vorauseilenden Gehorsams schon auf dem Umschlag des Textes indirekt darauf hingewiesen, daß der Inhalt des Textes religionspolitisch problematisch sein könnte. Vielleicht hat dieser Hinweis den 165 Zeilen umfassenden Text, der inhaltlich eine indigene Feuerhymne enthält,[12] sogar vor der Vernichtung bewahrt.

E

Eine weitere mongolische Feuerhymne ist überliefert unter gleichlautendem Titel wie der Text oben unter **A** (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 87–91). Text **E** schließt ab mit Zeile 115, in der sich lediglich folgendes Sanskrit Wort in mongolischer Umschrift aufgeführt findet:

> *mangγalam*
>
> *Viel Glück!*

Sanskrit *maṇgalaṁ* „verheißungsvolles Glück“ wird mong. meistens mit *ölǰei qutuγ* „Glück und Segen“ wiedergegeben. *Mangγalam* wird seit den 30er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts mehrfach am Ende auch profaner mongolischer Schriftstücke als Gruß- und Wunschfloskel verwendet, und läßt sich passend mit dem Wunsch *Viel Glück!* übersetzen. Diese sanskritische Grußformel sollte womöglich in kultisch-religiösen Texten zusätzlich zu *Sudur* im Titel auch am Ende

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12 Zu den Feuerhymnen vgl. Heissig 1966: 11–18. Zu den mongolischen Feuergottheiten vgl. Dumas 1987.

des Textes den Eindruck erwecken, bei dem Text handele es sich um ein Schrift-stück der *čaγan šasin* „Weißen Lehre".

F

Eine andere mongolische Feuerhymne (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 101–106) ist überliefert unter der Überschrift:

> *γal-un takilγa-yin sudur orosiba*

> Das Sudur vom *Opfer für das Feuer* hat vorgelegen

Der Titel des Textes: *Opfer für das Feuer*. Die Bezeichnung *Sudur* hebt sich hier grammatisch durch den Genitiv *takilγa-yin* vom Titel ab und bezeichnet die Textsorte *Sudur*, d. h., die Überschrift des Textes teilt den Lesern mit, daß dem vorliegenden Text *Opfer für das Feuer* bereits ein Sudur vorgelegen hat. Von die-sem Sudur darf angenommen werden, daß es als Vorlage für den Text gedient hat. Der Text ist demnach genau wie die Vorlage auch als Sudur anzusehen.

Der hier besprochene Text **F** macht deutlich, daß es ratsam ist, die Text-passage, die gewöhnlich unbesehen als Titel gewertet wird, grammatisch prä-zise zu bestimmen, um zu erkennen, was über den Text genau ausgesagt wird. In einem zweiten Schritt sollte man dann fragen, auf welches außertextliche Umfeld die Aussage hinweisen könnte. Text **F** und die anderen Texte, deren sogenannte Titel mit *orosiba ~ orosibai* verbunden sind, weisen als volksreli-giöse Texte zunächst hin auf das außertextliche Umfeld religionspolitischer Auseinandersetzung bei den Mongolen zwischen *qar-a šasin* „Schwarze Lehre ~ Religion" = Schamanismus und *čaγan šasin* „Weiße Lehre" = Lamaismus.

G

Eine weitere Feuerhymne trägt auf fol. 1r die Überschrift:

> *γal-un takilγa orosiba*

> Das *Opfer für das Feuer* hat vorgelegen

Der Titel des Textes lautet: *Opfer für das Feuer*. Im Gegensatz zur Überschrift des Textes **F** verzichtet **G** auf einen Vermerk zur Textsorte. Lediglich *orosiba* weist darauf hin, daß es für den Text **G** *Opfer für das Feuer* (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 109–117) eine Vorlage gegeben hat. Den Text der Vorlage ausfindig zu machen bleibt Nachforschungen unter Texten mit gleichen oder ähnlichen Titeln bzw. Überschriften, wie **G** sie aufweist, vorbehalten.

H

Der *Čaγan Ebügen* „Weiße Alte" ist eine wohlbekannte Kultgestalt aus der mongolischen Volksreligion.[13] Ein Gebetstext an den Weißen Alten trägt den Titel:

>   *čaγan ebügen-ü nom-un sudur orosiba*

>   Das Sudur der *Lehre vom Weißen Alten* hat vorgelegen

Der Titel des Textes lautet: *Lehre vom Weißen Alten* (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 131–133) Der Text gibt vor, einen Lehrtext der Weißen Lehre vom oder über den Weißen Alten wiederzugeben. Neben der Textsorte *Sudur* führt der Text als Beweis dafür, daß der Text der Weißen Lehre entspreche, noch den Begriff *nom* auf, der als lamaistischer Terminus für ‚Lehre' steht, und verwendet auf fol. 1v die sanskritischen Verehrungsformeln für *Buddha*, die *Gemeinschaft der Mönche*, und *die Lehre* (vgl. oben Fußnote 11).

I

Činggis Qan war schon im 13. Jh. in der vom tibetischen Geistlichen 'Phags-pa (1235–1280) verfaßten tibetischen Abhandlung *Šes-bya rab-tu gsal-ba* ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བ ‚Erhellende Abhandlung über das, was man wissen sollte', in die Reihe der buddhistischen indischen und tibetischen Könige aufgenommen worden. Diese von 'Phags-pa vorgenommene genealogische Eingliederung, die auf völlig pseudohistorischer Grundlage beruhte, hatte sich schon für die in und über China regierenden Mongolenherrscher der Yuan Dynastie (1279–1368) als vorteilhaft erwiesen. Im späten 16. oder frühen 17. Jh. hatte dann der bekannte mongolische Übersetzer *Čorǰiva ~ Čorǰi*, der den mongolisch-chinesischen Titel *Siregetü guosi ~ güüsi* ‚bestallter Lehrer des Reiches' führte, Phags-pas Abhandlung in das Mongolische übersetzt (speziell zum Titel dieser Abhandlung vgl. oben unter 1). Čorǰivas Übersetzung dürfte wesentlich mit dazu beigetragen haben, daß Činggis Qan und sein Stammbaum erneut mit den ehrwürdigen buddhistischen Königen Tibets und Indiens verbunden wurden, und Činggis Qan schließlich zu einem buddhistisch-lamaistischen Heiligen aufrückte.

Ausdrücklich als *boγda* ‚Heiliger' wird Činggis Qan gleichsam offiziell im AT bezeichnet (zum Titel des AT vgl. oben unter 4). Sein Titel lautet hier (AT 13r:22/23): *su-tu boγda Činggis qaγan* ‚geisterfüllter heiliger Großherrscher

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13   Über den Kult des weißen Alten siehe Heissig 1966: 18–23.

Činggis'. Das ET (zum Titel des ET vgl. oben unter 5) bezeichnet ihn (ET 29r:7/8) ebenso. Činggis Qan war den Mongolen somit um die Mitte des 17. Jh.s. wohl bereits als Heiliger bekannt. Es nimmt so nicht wunder, daß er auch in kultbezogenen Texten als *boγda* ‚Heiliger' aufscheint, wie folgende Titelpassage zeigt:

> *Činggis boγda-yin sang orosiba*

> Das *Rauchopfer Činggis des Heiligen* hat vorgelegen (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 151–153).

Der Titel lautet: *Rauchopfer Činggis des Heiligen.* Der Titel enthält keinen Hinweis auf die Textsorte. Am Beginn von fol. 2 weist sich der Text durch ein dreimaliges *Om a hum* als ein Text der Weißen Lehre aus.[14] Warum der Titel des Textes den Hinweis *orosiba* ‚hat vorgelegen' aufführt, mag vielleicht u.a. auch damit zu erklären sein, daß Činggis Qan in der Schwarzen Lehre bereits Rauchopfer dargebracht wurden, und der vorliegende Text auf solch einen Text der Schwarzen Lehre als Vorlage zurückgegriffen hat? Činggis Qan galt somit vielleicht der Schwarzen und Weißen Lehre gleichermaßen als Heiliger?

K

Die Frage, warum ein Werktitel mit dem Vermerk *orosiba ~ orosibai* ‚hat vorgelegen' versehen wurde, läßt sich aus dem in Heissig 1966 in Umschrift zusammengestellten Material an einigen Texten schlüssig erklären, und zwar:

a) an Texten, die im Zeitverlauf immer wieder Verwendung fanden, und die deswegen häufiger abgeschrieben worden sind. Beispiele für solche Texte:

> 1. *arikin-u yerügel orosiba*
>   Die *Segnung des Branntweins* hat vorgelegen

Der Titel lautet: *Segnung des Branntweins* (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 223–225).

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14   Die dreimal drei Silben stehen für das dreimal wiederholte sanskritische Mantra ॐ मणिपद्मे हूँ *oṃ maṇi-padme hūṃ*, das speziell im tibetischen Buddhismus weit verbreitet ist (skr. मन्त्र *mantra* „Spruch"; der Begriff bezeichnet hier heilige Silben, die klangvoll vorgetragen werden).

2. *unaɣan-u öčig orosibai*
   Das *Gebet für die Fohlen* hat vorgelegen

Der Titel lautet: *Gebet für die Fohlen* (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 226–229).

b) an Texten, die eindeutig auf Vorlagen fußen:

ongɣod qar-a sakiɣus-un teüke sudur bičig orosiba

Die *Geschichte der schamanistischen schwarzen* [*Religions-*]*Verteidiger* hat als Lehrtext-Schreiben vorgelegen

Der Titel des Textes lautet: *Geschichte der schamanistischen schwarzen* [*Religions-*]*Verteidiger* (zum Gesamttext siehe Heissig 1966: 163–168). Für die Vorlage wird ein *sudur bičig* ‚Lehrtext-Schreiben' als Textsorte angegeben.

Auch noch im 20. Jahrhundert kann einem mongolischen Titel für ein Buch, dessen Inhalt auf fremden Textvorlagen beruht, der Vermerk *orosibai* hinzugefügt werden, vgl. z. B. Damdinsürüng 1959: *Mongɣol-un uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰaɣun bilig orusibai*. Der Titel des Buches lautet: *Die vorzüglichsten hundert Weistümer der mongolischen Literatur*. Der Vermerk *orusibai* weist darauf hin, daß die im Titel angesprochenen hundert vorzüglichsten Weistümer der mongolischen Literatur auf Vorlagen beruhen, und dementsprechend die im Band von 1959 enthaltenen hundert vorzüglichsten Weistümer nicht als urschriftliche Originale zu werten sind.

Als Ergebnis für die Werktitel von mongolischen Handschrifttexten, die den Vermerk *orosiba ~ orosibai* ‚hat vorgelegen' aufführen, kann man festhalten, daß die gesamte Textpassage einschließlich des finiten *orosiba ~ orosibai* nicht nur den Titel des Werkes allein wiedergibt, sondern zusätzlich darauf hinweist, daß die jeweilige Handschrift auf einer Vorlage beruht. Des weiteren läßt sich verschiedentlich auch die Textsorte des jeweiligen Werkes ausmachen, so daß die gesamte Textpassage, die für gewöhnlich als Titel ausgegeben wird, einiges mehr mitteilt, als nur den Titel allein. Vergleichen läßt sich aus diesen Gründen die gesamte Textpassage eher mit einer Titelei, die ja in der Regel ebenfalls verschiedene, auf eine Buchausgabe bezogene Angaben macht.

Kausal beziehen lassen sich diese Texte mit „*orosiba*-Titelei" in erster Linie auf die textuelle Auseinandersetzung zwischen Schamanisus und Lamaismus (vgl. oben Fußnote 10), d. h. auf die religionspolitische Auseinandersetzung

besonders in der südöstlichen Mongolei[15] während der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Für diese Region erwähnt Heissig verschiedentlich Fundgebiete volksreligiöser Texte, und bezüglich der Texte des Geser Khan-Kultes stellt er sogar eine Fundortkarte bereit (Heissig 1966, 25). Ebenso könnte man für die Texte mit *orosiba*-Titelei verfahren, und in Zusammenarbeit mit mongolischen Fachkräften sowie unter Einschluß entsprechender Texte aus einheimischen mongolischen Museen und Archiven eine Fundortkarte erarbeiten. Eine solche Fundortkarte könnte die Grundlage bilden für eine Verbindung der Fundgebiete und deren Texten mit denjenigen zeitgenössischen und teilweise urschriftlichen Texten und Textpassagen in mandschurischer und mongolischer Sprache, die in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jh.s speziell auf die Lamaisierung der damaligen Mongolen Bezug nahmen oder damit zusammenhingen.[16]

Eine Verortung der Texte mit *orosiba*-Titelei, verbunden mit einem Studium der Auseinandersetzungsphasen zwischen autochthonem mongolischen Schamanismus und tibetischem Lamaismus auf breiter textueller Grundlage, wäre wohl geeignet, in die vielschichtigen und schwer zu entwirrenden Verhältnisse in der südöstlichen Mongolei während der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhuderts etwas Licht zu bringen. Möglicherweise könnten Erkenntnisse aus dieser für die Mongolen so tief- und weitgreifenden Umbruchszeit sich als hilfreich erweisen für die Gegenwart, in der die sogenannte Postmoderne den Mongolen auferlegt, sich erneut existenziell tiefstgreifenden Veränderungen zu stellen, die merklich an den Wurzeln ihrer Identität nagen.

Quellen

JMZD 1969: Chen, Jie-xian (陳, 捷先 Hg.), *Jiu manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔 „Altmandschurische Archive", 10 Bände (5377 folio), Taibei (Shilin): National Palace Museum. Die Texte auf den 5377 Folio – neben überwiegend mandschurischen enthalten die Bände auch mongolische und chinesische Texte – umfassen die Jahre 1607–1632 und 1635–1637. Abgesehen von *dangse*-Aufzeichnungen enthalten die Bände auch Kopien von urschriftlichen Originaldokumenten sowie urschriftliche Originale jeweils in Faksimile.

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15   Heutige *Autonome Region Innere Mongolei* (chin. 內蒙古自治区 *Nei Menggu Zizhiqu*; mong. *öbör mongγol-un öbertegen ǰasaqu oron*).

16   Reichhaltiges Faksimile-Textmaterial u. a. hierzu liegt vor in JMZD, MDEE, MMAD, MYBD, NGSYD, vgl. unten unter Quellen.

MDEE: Čimeddorǰi et al. (Hsgg.) *Čing ulus-un dotoγadu narin bičig-ün yamun-u Mon-gγol dangsa ebkemel-ün emkidkel* „Sammlung kompilierter mongolischer Aufzeich-nungen des Hofes für vertrauliche Schreiben des Qing Staates", Öbör mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a 2003, 7 Bände, Faksimiles von 1067 kompilierten mongoli-schen Textkopien umfassend die Jahre 1636–1638, 1640–1660, 1662–1667, 1669–1670. Wo sich die Originale befinden ist unbekannt.

MMAD: Oyunbilig B[orǰigidai], Wu Y[uanfeng] und Buyandelger J̌[iγačidai] (Hsgg.), *Daičing gürün-ü ekin üy-e-yin γadaγadu mongγol-un törö-yi ǰasaqu yabudal-un ya-mun-u manǰu mongγol ayiladγal-un debterüüd* „Mandschurische und mongolische Throneingaben des Lǐfān yuàn aus der Anfangszeit des Großen Qing Staates", chin. 清前期理藩院满蒙文题本汇编目录 *Qing qianqi li fan yuan man meng wen ti ben huibian mulu*, 24 Bände, Öbör mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a 2010. 1329 Kopien mandschurischer und mongolischer Dokumente aus den Jahren 1653–1795. Die Originale der Dokumente existieren nicht mehr.

MYBD: Erdeniǰab-un Li Bouwen (chin. Li, Baowen 李, 保文) (Hsg.), *Arban doloduγar ǰaγun-u emün-e qaγas-tu qolboγdaqu mongγol üsüg-ün bičig debter* „Buch mit Schrift-stücken in mongolischer Schrift, die verbunden sind mit der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", Öber monγol-un baγačud keüked-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a. Hergestellt in Beijing bei „Datong-Elektronik für Fremdsprachen" (*Tong xian dianzi waiwan* 通县 电子外文), 1997. Die Seiten 1–216 enthalten 91 undatierte mongolische Schriftstücke aus der Zeit des Sečen Qaγan (= Hongtaiji, reg. 1626–1636) in Faksimile, jeweils auch mit Text- und Inhaltsbeschreibung nebst Texttransliteration sowie Namen- und Wortindizes. 50 weitere qingzeitliche Faksimiletexte aus dem Lifan yuan, datiert 1639–1645, führen die Seiten 217–412 auf, ebenfalls mit Text- und Inhaltsbeschrei-bung nebst Texttransliteration und Namen- sowie Wortindizes. Die 141 Originaltexte werden aufbewahrt in den Ersten Historischen Archiven Chinas zu Peking.

NGSYD: *Neiguoshiyuandang* 内国史院檔. *Early Manchu Archives of the Qing Historio-graphy Academy. The Seventh Year of Tiancong, 1633/34*, Translated and Annotated by KANDA Nobuo, HOSOYA Yoshio, NAKAMI Tatsuo, MATSUMURA Jun, KATO Naoto, YANAGISAWA Akira, Tokyo: Seminar on Manchu History, The Toyo Bunko, 2003. Die Seiten 264–390 enthalten die Textfaksimiles, auf denen die Transkription sowie die japanische interlineare Übersetzung der Seiten 1–196 beruhen.

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The Last-Words of Xiao Chala Xianggong in Khitan Script

Wu Yingzhe

The main task of the Khitan study is the interpretation of the scripts, which involves a comprehensive study on the form, pronunciation and meaning of the Khitan scripts. The interpretation of the Khitan native words is recognized as a difficult task in academic circles. Recently, with the emergence of fresh materials, work in this area has also made significant progress. This paper intends to interpret the 'last words' of the tomb owner, Xiao Chala Xianggong 蕭查剌相公, which appear in Line 11 to 12 of newly found *Epitaph of Xiao Chala Xianggong* (hereinafter referred as *Chala*), and the author hopes his study will supplement previous studies.

I   On *Epitaph of Xiao Chala Xianggong* in Khitan Small Script

The Khitan version of *Chala* is made up of 27 lines with about 800 characters. According to the current interpretation, the date when the epitaph was carved is recognized as the 3rd year of the Tianqing 天慶 period [1113] during the reign of Emperor Tianzuo 天祚 of the Liao Dynasty. The author was Yelü Gu 耶律固 and the calligrapher who wrote in red ink was Pengzu 彭祖(?),[1] the youngest son of the tomb owner. The tomb owner Chala's courtesy name was Baisaben 擺撒本(?) and his Chinese name Xiao Min 蕭旼, the descendant of Xiao Aguzhi 蕭阿古只. His father is Xiao Taishan 蕭太山, whose epitaph has already been unearthed. The contents of *Chala* are complementary to both the *Epitaph of Xiao Taishan and Princess Yongqing*蕭太山與永清公主墓誌 and the *Epitaph of General Xianwu (Xiao Jushi)* 顯武將軍墓誌(蕭居士) and have great value in studying the Xiao family of the Liao Dynasty.

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1   The pronunciation of the name can be reconstructed from the text, however, as there is no corresponding onomastic data in the Liaoshi, the question mark means that the Chinese characters here are speculated.

The Chinese version of *Chala* is made up of 35 lines with over 1460 characters, the author was Yang Qiuwen 楊丘文, and the calligrapher who wrote in red ink was Tian Ji 田濟. Notably, a large number of records on historical activities of Xiao family, names of mountains and rivers, which have great significance in interpretation of the Khitan scripts and the study on Khitan Liao history appeared in the epigraph, like Lanling Mountain 蘭陵山 and Yangchang River 羊腸河. Although several names of the tomb owner are mentioned, the author called him Xianggong 相公 in the epigraph. Therefore, the epitaph is named *Epitaph of Xiao Chala Xianggong* in this paper.

The time and place of discovery, as well as the current location of this epitaph are unknown. Mr. Liu Fengzhu has described how Mr. Guo Yuhai from the Palace Museum offered him a rubbing of the epitaph for identification, further study, and publication in June 2014. The epitaph was carved on both sides, with Chinese on one side and Khitan on the other side; the inscription had been split into two. The epitaph is made from gray sandstone and is 96 cm in height, 100 cm in width, and 13 cm in thickness. Khitan and Chinese transcriptions of the epitaph were published by Mr. Liu Fengzhu at the Second International Conference on Khitan Studies in August 2014.[2] In the *Journal of Chifeng College* 2015, no. 1,[3] besides giving an interpretation of the content of the epitaph, Mr. Liu also published complete pictures of the epitaph, which has offered great assistance to the present study.

II   The Last Words of Xiao Chala Xianggong

In Line 14 to 16 of the Chinese version, there are following details:

> In Tianqing 3 [1113], at the end of spring and the beginning of summer, he often said to the others, "One of my daughters has become imperial concubine, and two of my nephews have taken princesses as wives and become Fangshuai 方帥 [a third-ranked general]. I have been blessed to the utmost. I must depart." Waiting for the winter, he was going to depart for the palace to meet the Emperor with a memorial to the throne. Soon, on 6 August that autumn, he died without any illness at his place of office, at the age of 61.

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2   Liu 2014.

3   Liu 2015 pp. 6–11.

天慶三年，自春及夏，常語諸人曰："吾一女作妃，兩猶子尚主，身起家為方帥， 此吾之幸極矣， 不去則不可"。 俟其冬， 即詣闕拜章面訣聖人以去。無何，以其季秋八月六日無疾終於治所，時年六十有一。

The words above in quotation marks were said by the tomb owner while he was alive, and are called "last words" in this paper. According to the author's observation, this record is almost consistent with Line 11 to 13 of the Khitan version. Referring to the Chinese content, the meaning of some relevant Khitan words will be interpreted in what follows.

天慶　　　　三年　春　　夏　　　時　人于
Tian qing　　　3 year　spring　summer　time　the others (to)

常　　　語
often　said

In spring and summer Tianqing 3, (he) often said to the others.

吾　　一　女　　妃　　　　　成為
My　　one　daughter　imperial concubine　became

One of my daughters became the imperial concubine.

兄弟之　孩子　　二　諸公主　　尚
Brothers' children　two　princesses　took as wife

Two of my nephews took princesses as wives.

身　起　　　第三級　　軍？　事？　長官？
Body　got up　third-ranked　military?　　General?

Being tertiary military general

本人之　福　　極於　　至
My　　blessing　extreme　achieved

I have been blessed to the utmost.

𠮟　ᐧᐁ关　氵小　扎反𠮟
不　去　　不　可
Not depart not allow
It is not allowed that I should not depart.

反平　及米反几　为艾　旡几　　　　　　令金屮尜万
冬　　宮於　　在　章　　　　　　　拜
Winter palace　　in　memorial to the throne submit
[He] went to the winter palace to submit a memorial to the throne

住反汋 几尺几关 西为亏　　乑平坕キ ᐧᐁ反𠮟 叔尘灬
聖人從　　　　　面　　見　　去　　俟
Emperor (with) face to face meet　go　wait
Waiting to go to meet the Emperor face to face

万反　义ㄊ𠮟冇
無何
Soon

ロ　　キ　公乃夾　亞艾　　旡�几矢　令金比　ㄊ比　关化矢　　劣灬中
該　年　秋　　八月　五日於　病　無　治所　　終
That year autumn August 5th (on) illness no office place died
In the autumn of that year, on August 5, (he) died without any illness at
(his) place of office.

ㄊ灬乂　毛　丹考灬
歲　六十 一 在
Age sixty one at
At the age of sixty one

The interpretation of the Khitan word in the square mark is either newly
deciphered or further confirmed.

(1)　旡卡廾火 尘为生公又 mean 'often say':

The former 旡卡廾火 is a frequently used word which has appeared 30 times
in existing materials. Its meaning may relate to 'often' or 'always'. The latter
尘为生公又 means 'say, tell, talk'. In Line 34 to 35 of *Epitaph of Yelü Xiangwen*,
there are following records.

𤔁　𣎴勹　𣎴欠　𢆶有　屮𢆶�　𢁥九　　　令勹
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　書　　　　曰
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　The Book says

几　　佃关　�有　　　圡夾　令夾　刘𢆶�　坣为坒公关　口为夾
人　生　百　　歲　　於　□　　語　　　　七十於至
Man born hundred age at   □ said   seventy at

义�　　小　义关
者　　　稀　　謂
the one rare said

In the book (the title is unknown), it is said that people rarely live to seventy.

According to the previous studies, the sentence between 令勹 and 义关 is a quotation "人生百歲， 七十者稀" (a man seldom lives to be seventy years old).[4] The words before 令勹 represent the name of the book (or the title of the article), which is not yet known. The interpretation of it is as above.

(2)　夯夯𣎴 means 'to take princess as wife'

This word might have the same root as 夯关 and 夯屮𤕟 which mean 'to take a princess as wife'. According to the record in *Chala* in Chinese, it reads: "His eldest son named Chuoli served concurrently as *shizhong* [attendant], married the daughter of Emperor Shizong, the Princess Supreme of Qinjin State named Hugudian" (長曰啜裡，兼侍中，尚世宗皇帝之女秦晉國大長公主曰胡骨典).

In Line 5 of *Chala* in Khitan, there are records as follow and their explanations:

叐反　　　屮丙伏　𣎴焚达　九文厷　　　𠃜弓火　仐叐为门尜
大　　　留隱　啜裡　兼　　　　侍中　　駙馬都尉
The eldest Liuyin Chuoli concurrently as *Shizhong Fumaduwei*

[His] eldest son named Liuyin Chuoli served concurrently as *shizhong* [attendant] and *fuma-duwei* [commandant-escort].

叐关关　仐屮　主王有　　　丹力　　　刘欠分与　九火攴炏火　夯屮𤕟
世宗　　　皇帝之　女　　　胡骨典　公主　　　尚
Shi zong   Emperor's daughter Hugudian princess   marry

(He) married Emperor Shizong's daughter Pricess Hugudian.

4　Chen 1992 p. 1698.

火 here has no genitive meaning, but is the third-person possessive category. Through the explanation, 夫夯, 杰, 夫关, 夫屮圣 are interpreted as 'to take princess as wife' and they are verbs.

(3)   田災本井平立丰 mean 'origin, birth':

田災 is the instrumental case of the word 田 'body', whose beginning graph means 'body' which has been already deciphered. Combined with 本井平立丰, 田災本井平立丰 mean "origin, birth". 列化災 has already been deciphered to mean 'the third', but the meanings of 业为关 and 禹令 are unknown up to now. As "Fangshuai" in the Chinese version means 'third-ranked military chief', the meaning of 业为关 and 禹令 can be interpreted as 'rank' and 'military'. Therefore, Khitan scripts 列化災 业为关 禹令 may mean 'the third-ranked military'. The scripts 列化災 业为关 关化矢 为丰 in Line 10 of *Xiao Dilu* 蕭敵魯 mean 'at the third-rank' or 'local official'. 业为关 and 业为矢 have the same meaning, for example, 令币及扎 业为矢 父火來 in Line 19 of *Xiao Jushi* 蕭居士 mean 'to the fifth-rank'; it is not certain what kind of official this may be. At the same time, 刃丙災 災为災 may mean 'military official' which still need to be further examined.

(4)   宁关 means 'to go':

禹平立丰 宁关 in Line 20 of *Epitaph of the Prince of Liangguo* 梁國王墓誌 mean 'to go to meet'. 主 王久为丙夹宁令北 in Line 31 of *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian* 耶律仁先 mean 'Emperor □ military go'. Its inflected forms are: 宁立丰, 宁与, 宁又, 宁屮圣, 宁夊 and 宁立为本 etc., all of which mean 'to go' with different grammatical meanings. According to the pronunciation of the word 'to go' in Middle Mongolian, 宁 may be tentatively reconstructed as "od".

(5)   扎夊㺷 means 'can':

Its meaning maybe confirmed by other materials, for example:
    There is a sentence 九亦 廿㧑与扎夊㺷 in Line 33 of *Yelü Nu* 耶律奴. According to the previous interpretation, 九亦 廿 mean 'a man of noble character', and 㧑与 means 'said'. When 扎夊㺷 is interpreted as 'can', the whole sentence maybe interpreted as '(He) can be said to be a man of noble character'.
    There is another sentence 全火 杰不 土伏㺷扎夊㺷 业号与 in Line 35 of *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian*. The former four words mean 'Song', 'Prince', 'absent' and 'not' which has been interpreted by other scholars and the last word 业号与 is an auxiliary verb shown the condition. When 扎夊㺷 is interpreted

as 'can', the whole sentence will be interpreted as 'It cannot be allowed for the Prince of Song to not be there.' This is a double negative sentence. 𘬟𘭤𘭞𘬚 𘭖𘭦𘬟 in *Chala* is also a double negative sentence which means 'It is not allowed that (I) should not depart', which can be confirmed in *Chala* in Chinese. As is well known, 𘬚 was corrected in carving to read 𘬟 twice in Line 13 and Line 35 of *Daozong Aice* 道宗哀冊, which indicates that the two words have similar meanings. There are two negative modal particles in *The Secret History of Mongols*: 兀禄 (ülü) and 额薛 (ese).[5] The former one means 'no, not', the latter one 'no, non-, not', from which the pronunciation of 𘬟 and 𘬚 are presumed as "es" and "ul" respectively.

(6) 𘰢𘬂𘬦 𘳆𘬷𘬠𘬟 𘭏𘬰𘮷 means 'to meet in person':

The first word 𘰢𘬂𘬦 means 'to meet, face to face'. For example, in Line 23 of *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian*, there is the following passage, which can be interpreted as follows:

𘲀𘱷𘬋	𘱑𘰣	𘭽𘰘	𘳍𘱥	𘰢𘬂𘬦	𘰑𘲉	𘯆𘮷
清寧	皇帝	官	誥	當面	制	給
Qingning	Emperor	Imperial	decree	face to face	made	give

Emperor Qingning issued him an imperial decree in person.

The Khitan word 𘳆𘬷𘬠𘬟 is pronounced as "dʒɑu-ul-ɣɑ-ɑi", which is similar with the Mongolian word "dʒɔlgɔx" (to meet). Combined with the context, the meaning of the word can be presumed as 'to meet in person'. 𘭖𘬷𘬟 is the inflected form of the word 𘭖𘬷 meaning 'to go' which is mentioned above. The last word 𘭏𘬰𘮷 may be the counterpart of 俟 'to wait'.

(7) 𘬂𘭢 means 'be', firstly with the meaning of a copula and secondly as a verb of existence:

According to the researches of Mongolian linguists, there are a series of verbs with the roots of "ɑ-" and "bu-" in the Middle Mongolian. The former one is with the meaning of 'be' (existence) and the latter one means 'be' (copula), whose derivative meanings are very rich. Those words very rarely appear in modern Mongolian. The word 𘬂𘭢 is pronounced as "adʒa",[6] which may be

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5   Li 2012 pp. 40–43

6   Ji 1994.

cognate with those "ɑ-" verbs of Middle Mongolian, which also means 'be' with the meaning of existence and copula.

(8) 扎几 means 'article, book':

This word has already been deciphered to mean 'letter; character, script'. By the usage here, it can be concluded that the word also means 'article' or 'book'. In Mongolian, 'character', 'book' and 'article' are all pronounced as "bitʃig", from which the pronunciation of 扎 may be presumed as "bitʃ".

(9) 令金屮峚丙 means 'to submit':

For the meaning of this word, there are different interpretations as 'to confer',[7] 'to appoint'.[8] According to the interpretation of this epitaph, the exact meaning of the word can be concluded as 'to submit'.

(10) 丙夊乄ち犭冇 mean 'soon':

There is 丙夊乄犭冇 又令卡屮峚灻 乇卆 in Line 12 to 13 of *Epitaph of the Late Yelüs'*. Compared with the word 乄ち犭冇, the second word 乄犭冇 is only short of one letter ち "ou", which has the same meaning with 丙夊乄ち犭冇, means "soon". 丙夊 pronounced as "ju", which is just matched with "ju" meant "what" in Mongolian.

(11) 令金扗 ち扗 mean 'no illness':

Through the interpretation of *Langjun Xingji*, previous researchers have deciphered the 灻 ち伏 in the first line to mean 'no matter', which corresponds with 无事 in the Chinese version. Obviously, ち扗 and ち伏 are words with same root, so it is definite that 令金扗 ち扗 means 'no illness'.

(12) 关仈矢 means 'at working place':

This word appears at the end of Line 12 of the present epitaph, of which the form of the third character or letter needs to be further examined. 关仈 means 'name' which has been already interpreted. According to the context of the present epitaph, this word may also mean 'place of office'.

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7 Chinggeltai et al. 1985 pp. 125.

8 Ji 2012 pp. 397.

(13) 丹丯灸 means 'be':

This word is the past tense of 'be'.

III   Conclusion

Chala which is a bilingual inscription in Khitan and Chinese offers rich pos-
sibilities for the decipherment of original Khitan words. Firstly, referring to
the Chinese version and those Khitan words already deciphered, those words
which have not been explored yet have been deciphered. Secondly, through
this bilingual record, the root meanings and their derivations for some Khi-
tan words can be examined. Thirdly, this record has indispensable value for
research on Khitan syntax, especially the double negative sentence structure.
Finally, the content of this epitaph contains a certain mysterious color, with
some mythical elements, so it may offer some materials for the studies on prim-
itive religion of the Khitans.

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Proper Names in the Oirat Translation of "The Sutra of Golden Light"

Natalia Yakhontova

The subject for the present volume was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, this Sutra was one among the many studied by Prof. Kara (1960, 1968). Secondly, it was he who many years ago while being on an academic visit to St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time) suggested the Oirat translation of the Sutra as the subject for the author's PhD dissertation and generously provided a photocopy of a manuscript from his collection because the one from our Institute[1] collection was full of mistakes.

"The Sutra of Golden Light" (*Suvarṇaprobhāsottamasūtra*) is one of the main works of Mahayana Buddhism. It was composed in Sanskrit and later translated into many languages accompanying the advent of Buddhism to different regions.[2] Three versions (long, medium and short) of this Sutra are included in the Tibetan and Mongolian canon numbering 31, 29 and 21 chapters respectively. The long one was translated into Tibetan from Chinese, and two others were translated from Sanskrit. All three were translated into Mongolian from Tibetan. The Mongolian ones are usually referred to as Nos 176, 177, 178 in Ligeti's catalogue (1942: 55–56). Outside the canon only the medium version was duplicated in separate xylographs and manuscripts both in Tibetan and Mongolian. Separate texts of the short version are extremely rare.[3] The short version does not have a colophon so the names of those who translated it in Tibetan and Mongolian are unknown. However, it was the short version that was translated from Tibetan into Oirat by the famous Oirat clergyman and philologist Zaya-pandita Namkhaijamtso (1599–1662) who was a prolific translator of many texts into the Oirat language using his own "todo biciq" script. The manuscript copies of his translation of the "Sutra of Golden Light" are

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1   The present name of the Institute is the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS). At the time of Prof. Kara's visit it was the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

2   Studies on different translations of the Sutra were discussed at a philological conference in Beijing and published in 2006 (Zhongguo 2006).

3   The only text known to the author is a Mongolian xylograph (Сазыкин 2001, No 2450).

preserved in different collections. E. Haenisch published a transliteration of an Oirat "Altan gerel" manuscript from Copenhagen (1929). There are translations of the short version of the Sutra into modern languages: in English from Sanskrit (Emmerick 1970), in Russian from Tibetan (Кугявичус 2013) and Kalmyk from Oirat (Бадмаев).[4]

The task of the paper was to make a list of all proper names from the Sutra text in Oirat and supply them with their equivalents in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit, to compare the Oirat translations with their Mongolian ones, to show how they are incorporated in the text and thus to demonstrate Zaya-pandita's method of translating of this very important component of the Sutra. The names are considered mostly from a textological but not from buddhological point of view. The main texts used here are: in Oirat—a photocopy of a manuscript from Prof. Kara's collection, in Mongolian—a text from Ganjur,[5] in Tibetan—a text from Derge edition of the canon available at the TBRC.[6] Sanskrit names were taken from the English translation (Emmerick 1970) where all of them are written in transliteration.

The total number of proper names in the Sutra text is more than 150. According to their referents they can be classified as personal names both human and divine (buddhas, bodhisattvas, yakshas, goddesses, kings and kings' sons, etc.) and geographical names (worlds, mountains, rivers, etc.). Some of the names are well-known from other texts, while others are found only in the Sutra. Some geographical names correspond to real objects (e.g. the river Ganges). Some names are used only in one chapter, while others are scattered all over the text. The presence of a name in a chapter depends on its contents. There is one chapter, Chapter 6 ("Emptiness"), with no proper names at all, while on the contrary there are several chapters that have a name in the title. Some characters, especially Shakyamuni and Indra, are called by their epithets more often than by their names. This way of naming a referent is equal to calling him by name but such cases are beyond the subject of this paper.

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4 This can hardly be called a real publication, because there is no date-line. The book, made in pothi-style, includes a Tibetan text and two translations: a Russian one from the Tibetan by A. Kugyavichus and a Modern Kalmyk one from Oirat by Andrei Badmaev. It was issued by Orgakinskiy Khurul Bogdo Dalai-Lamin Rashi Lunpo in Elista.

5 A manuscript Ganjur from St. Petersburg State University collection (Касьяненко 1993).

6 When there was a need to clarify really puzzling translations some other texts were used: an Oirat xylograph (Mingyad 2013), a text from Beijing edition of the Tibetan canon in the collection of IOM RAS (call number Tib. 1/15), and a Tibetan text of the medium version from Derge edition of the canon.

Chapters are organized in different ways, two of them are *jataka*-stories, where persons take part in the plot, communicate and act, but in most chapters at the beginning a question on some sacred matter is asked and then the answer is given. If answers are rendered in verse shorter names are used. Respectively in the beginning of a chapter a name is supplied with a full title while in the verses the title is either abridged or omitted. An important feature of some proper names is their relation to the subject of a certain chapter. A good example is Ch. 17 which is a *jataka*-story about saving fish deprived of water. Those who participate in saving have names with a component "water". In two other chapters names having words "gold" (Ch. 5) and "great" (Ch. 18) are connected with the subject of corresponding chapters.

Since three translations from Sanskrit follow the original neatly enough to identify names in them the task of distinguishing the proper names in the Oirat text seems not to cause difficulties even though they did not use capital letters as a special marking we have in modern orthography.[7] All three translations have means to mark proper names. The main is to provide a name with words "by name", which is applied rather regularly especially when a name is mentioned for the first time. Another way which is applied less often is to add a classifying noun such as "a great goddess", "a king's son", "a mountain", etc. Still some names in the Oirat translation merge with the text and cannot be easily identified as such. The main reason for that is following the Tibetan word order and absence of the marking "by name".

The Oirat translation of the Sutra is a typical specimen of Zaya-pandita's method of translating the key point of which is to follow the Tibetan original as closely as possible.[8] So translation of proper names is logical since they are translated in the Tibetan text from Sanskrit. Still there are a few names which are not translated from Tibetan but are transliterated, their full list is: *mañžušri, samanda bhadra, zambudib, ānanda, maidari, sümer, esürü*. They reproduce

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7   However, the translations of the Sutra into modern languages do not fully coincide in capital-izing proper names according to their rules. One reason is the translators' attitude to the text. The Russian and Kalmyk translations are aimed at Buddhist devotees and use capitals not only to label proper names but to show respect to Buddhist personages (first of all epithets of Shakyamuni and other buddhas are written with capitals) and notions such as *dharma* or *bodhi*. Another reason is an individual translator's understanding and attitude to some char-acters e.g. Mara is written as rus. *Мара* (with capital) but kalm. *шумнс* (without capital). In the latter case the significance of the evil spirit is lowered.

8   A comparison between two translations of one text showing some details of his method was made by A. Tsendina (Цендина 2001).

their Sanskrit original[9] in the Oirat text in spite of their translation in the Tibetan, which shows that they had been fully adopted into Oirat by the time of the translation. Except these names all others, i.e. the overwhelming majority of proper names, are translated from Tibetan.

The Mongolian translation shows quite the opposite: the number of transliterated names exceeds the number of translated. Their spelling is sometimes corrupted to such extent that original is hardly recognizable.[10] Diacritic signs are scarce and hardly any *galic* letters are used. Only long names consisting of more than two components are translated.

The way Oirat proper names are incorporated in the text, the presence of classifying nouns and their position, the titles which accompany many of the characters mostly follow the Tibetan model. In the Mongolian translation the names are more often provided with classifying words and they, as well as titles, are placed according to the pattern of the Mongolian language.

As a result of a careful translation from Tibetan some inaccuracies or questionable translations present in the Tibetan text were repeated in the Oirat one (see Nos 39.5.1,7; 39.6.4,15,17). Several mistakes were made by the Oirat translator himself (see Nos 2.2; 39.6.11; 39.8.3; 39.9.5; 60) most of which were corrected in the Oirat xylograph. One may assume that the Oirat text was carefully revised before printing.

In spite of trying to follow the Tibetan text the Oirat translator was human and three names he translated in different ways without any ground for that change in the Tibetan (see Nos 15; 25.11; 56).

The translation method of Zaya-pandita is, when compared with one applied by the unknown Mongolian translator, more informative in rendering proper names. The names in the Sutra are "talking" names. For a reader who is not educated enough to see the meaning of, for example, skr. chagala-pāda its translation "goat's foot" is the information which helps to imagine the referent behind the name. This is to say nothing about groups of names connected with the subject of some chapters.[11]

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9   Oir. *esürü* 'Brahma' is a Sanskrit word borrowed via Uighur.

10   In the examples on the list of names for those letters which can be read in two ways (*k/g*, *t/d*, *o/u*, etc.) the variant closer to Sanskrit was chosen. Names found in different places can be spelled in slightly different ways (e.g. mong. *raaǰagriq-a/raǰagraq-a/raǰagiraq-a, esrü-a/esrün*). Only one variant is used in examples below. Letters *ǰ* and *č* are confused frequently not only in the middle of many words (which is common to other texts) but in their beginning as well, so mong. *ǰambudiib* is regularly spelled here as *čambudiib*.

11   It is worth mentioning that in the Russian translation of the Tibetan text most names are given in their Sanskrit form thus not supplying such information.

The list of proper names below is organized according to the following system.

The order of the names on the list follows the order of their appearance in the text. Numbers of all chapters where the name is used are indicated.

Capital letters are used only in the English translations.

In the chain of names, the first is the Oirat name, then Tibetan is placed because their relations with each other are closer than with Mongolian. The last is the Sanskrit original. Compound Sanskrit names are divided into parts to simplify tracing their translation in the chain. The English translation is literal and the words for it are chosen so that their meaning could match as many names in the chain as possible, instead of aiming to make the translation literary.

The referent and the words which accompany the name are given and their position regarding the name is specified as well as some extra information concerning the situation where a name is used.

1. Oir. *xaǰir coqco* 'Mass of vultures', tib. *bya rgod phung bo* id., mong. *gatarigud*, skr. *gṛdhra-kūṭa* 'Gridhakuta' (lit. 'vulture peak'). The name of a mountain, a place where the Buddha Shakyamuni meditated. (Chs. 1, 3). A "peak" from the Sanskrit name became a "mass" in the Tibetan and Oirat translations because of skr. *kūṭa* 'peak', 'heap', 'mass'. Only in the Mongolian translation is the word "mountain" (mong. *aɣula*) added.

2. The names of buddhas of four directions are mentioned in three chapters (Chs. 1, 2, 10). They give their blessings (Ch. 1) or appear in four directions (Ch. 2), they are named at the end of the list to be paid homage to and remembered (Ch. 10). In this list they are called tathagatas. In Ch. 10 the names are followed by words "by name" (oir. *kemekü*, tib. *ces bya ba*, mong. *neretü*).[12] Only in Ch. 2 in the Mongolian translation is the word "buddha" (mong. *burqan*) added after the name. They are mentioned as a group without individual names in Ch. 14.

2.1. Oir. *ülü alzaqči* 'Not tired', tib. *mi 'khrugs pa* 'Imperturbable', mong. *agsobi*, skr. *a-kṣobhya* 'Akshobya' (lit. 'imperturbable'). The name of a buddha who appears from the east. (Chs. 1, 2, 10, 13). This buddha is the only one of the four whose name is mentioned individually in Ch. 13.

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12   Further on the translations will not be given if they are the same as here.

2.2. Oir. *erdeni oki* 'Precious top', tib. *rin chen tog* id., mong. *ratnaketu*, skr. *ratna-ketu* 'Ratnaketu' (lit. 'precious top'). The name of a buddha who appears from the south. (Chs. 1, 2, 10). (Cf. No 32.9).

2.3. Oir. *caqlaši ügei gerel-tü* 'Possessing immeasurable light', tib. *'od dpag med* 'Immeasurable light', mong. *amindau-a*, skr. *amitā-bha* 'Amitabha' (lit. 'immea-surable light'). The name of a buddha who appears from the west. (Chs. 1, 10). In all translations in Chs. 2, 10 his name in this group is substituted by Ami-tayus (oir. *caqlaši ügei nasutu* 'Possessing immeasurable age', tib. *tshe dpag med* 'Immeasurable age', mong. *amita ayuši*, skr. *amitāyus* 'Amitayus'). Only in the Oirat translation in Ch. 10 his name was translated as "Possessing immeasurable light" while the Oirat xylograph text (f. 69a)[13] has "Possessing immeasurable **age**". So the variant in the Oirat manuscript in Ch. 10 is incorrect.

2.4. Oir. *kenggergeyin doun* 'Drum voice', tib. *rnga sgra* id., mong. dundubisuvari, skr. *dundubhisvara* 'Dundubhisvara' (lit. 'drum voice'). (Chs. 1, 2, 10). The name of a buddha who appears from the north.

3. Oir. *egešiqtü* 'Possessing melody', tib. *dbyangs can* id., mong. *sarasvati*, skr. *sarasvatī* 'Sarasvati' (lit. 'she possessing eloquence'). (Chs. 1, 7, 8, 12, 14, 21). The Ch. 8 is titled "Sarasvati" (oir. *egešiqtü*, tib. *dbyangs can*, mong. *sarasvati*) and she is mentioned several times there. The name Sarasvati is often accompanied by the words "great goddess" (oir. *yeke okin tenggeri*, tib. *lha mo chen po*, mong. *yeke ökin tngri*) which always precede her name in the Tibetan and Oirat trans-lations, while in Mongolian both options are possible. By this full title Sarasvati is always named in Chs. 1, 7, 21 where she is mentioned among other respected persons while in Ch. 8 her title is often abridged to just "goddess Sarasvati" in some situations. On the other hand, Kaundiniya addresses her only by her title—"great goddess" and to name the addressee in his praise pronounced in her honour he says "[the one] called Sarasvati / (possessing melody)" (oir. *egešiqtü kemēkü*, tib. *dbyangs can zhes bya*, mong. *sarasvati kemegdekü*). In Ch. 12 she is the last among four who are paid homage to (for others see Nos 10, 28,29) In Ch. 14 in verses Sarasvati is mentioned twice only by her name among many other protectors.

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13   When referring to the Oirat xylograph text of the Sutra the folia from the facsimile is given. See (Mingγad 2013: 215–345).

4. Oir. *nairanžana* 'Nairanjana', tib. *nai ra dza+nya* id., mong. *nayiranǰan* id., skr. *nairañjanā* id. (Ch. 1). The name of the river where a goddess resides. There is neither a name nor even the word "goddess" in Sanskrit though it is implied by the context as is shown in the English translation: (the goddess) who dwells in the (river) Nairañjanā (Emmeric 1970: 2). All translations (oir. *nairanžanadu orošiqson* 'dwelled in Nairanjana', tib. *nai ra nya+dza nar gnas pa* 'one who is located in Nayiranjana', mong. *nayiranǰan-i*[=*u*] *oron-dur aүči* 'one who is located in Nayiranjana area') follow Sanskrit and don't have the word "goddess". As a result in the Oirat and Mongolian translations this line can be read as a continuation of the previous, e.g. oir. *egešiqtü yeke okin tenggeri nairanžanadu orošiqson* 'great goddess Sarasvati [who] dwelled in Nairanjana'. In the Tibetan text after the name of Sarasvati there is a conjunction "and" (tib. *dang*) to separate words related to these two goddesses. In the Oirat and Mongolian texts the conjunction wasn't translated, which shows that this line was understood and rendered as information about the dwelling place of Sarasvati.

5. Oir. *bulāqči eke* 'Robber mother', tib. *'phrog ma* id., mong. *qarini*, skr. *hārītī* 'Hariti'. (Chs. 1, 7, 14). The name of a goddess. In Ch. 1 her name is among goddesses' and gods' ones while further on (Ch. 7 and especially Ch. 14) she is mentioned among yakshas. The Oirat translation of this name repeats the Tibetan one based on the meaning of skr. *hārīta* 'robber'. This goddess's status is specified by "mother of *bhutas*" (oir. *bhudiyin okin xatuqtai* (Ch. 1) / *bhudiyin xatuqtai* (Ch. 14), tib. *'byung po'i ma mo*, mong. *budinar-un eke*). In Ch. 7 Hariti is accompanied by her 500 son's retinue (oir. *tabun zoun köböüni nöködtöi*, tib. *bu lnga brgya'i 'khor dang ldan pa*, mong. *tabun ǰaүun köbegüd nöküd-lüge nigen-e*) or her sons in Ch. 14 (oir. *tabun zoun köböün-lugē selte*, tib. *lnga brgya'i bu dang bcas pa*, mong. *tabun ǰaүun* [*köbegüd*]*-lüge nigen-e*).

6. Oir. *batu* 'Firm', tib. *brtan ma* id., mong. *vasundari*, skr. *dṛḍhā* 'Dridha' (lit. 'firm-she'). (Chs. 1, 7, 10). The name of a goddess. The Mongolian translation gives transliteration of another name for the earth goddess: skr. *vasu-dharā* 'Vasudhara' (lit. 'she holding treasures'). She has a title "an earth goddess" (oir. *үazariyin okin tenggeri*, tib. *sa yi lha mo*, mong. *үaǰar-un ökin tngri*) which in the Oirat translation follows the name, in Tibetan and Mongolian precedes it. In Ch. 7 in all translations she has a title of "a great goddess" as well as others (Sarasvati, Shri). Ch. 10 is devoted to her and the name of the chapter is her title: oir. *үazariyin okin tenggeri*, mong. *үaǰar-un ökin tngri*, but in Tibetan it includes her name as well: tib. *sa'i lha mo brtan ma*. The goddess's name is slightly changed in the Oirat translation in this chapter and the title precedes

the name: oir. *γazariyin okin tenggeri batu eke* 'earth goddess—a firm mother' and this variant is used throughout the chapter. When addressed she is called by her title only.

7. Oir. *esürü* 'Brahma', tib. *tshangs pa* id., mong. *esrün* id., skr. *brahma* id. (Chs. 1, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 19, 21). In most places (Chs. 1, 7, 12, 13, 14) his name is combined with the word "ruler": oir. *esürüni erketü* 'Brahma ruler' (lit. 'Brahma powerful)', tib. *tshangs pa'i dbang* id., mong. *esrün erketü* id. In Ch. 12 Brahma is a key figure who explains divinity of human kings. Only once in Ch. 2 he is called just Brahma on a list of those who can't understand the limit of Shakyamuni's life. Brahma's voice (oir. *esürüni egesiq*, tib. *tshangs pa'i dbyangs*, mong. *esrün dayu*) is a supreme kind of voice and the Buddha's voice is compared to it in Chs. 4, 19, 21.

8. Oir. *xāni xarši* 'King's palace', tib. *rgyal po'i khab* id., mong. *raǰagraha balγasun* 'Rajagriha city', skr. *raja-gṛha* 'Rajagriha' (lit. 'king's city'). (Chs. 2, 3). In all translations the city of Rajagriha is always called "the great city" (oir. *yeke abaxui balγad*, tib. *grong khyer chen po* id., mong. *yeke qotan* id.). Such a long name for the word "city" avoids mixing with plenty of situations when just king's palaces are mentioned (oir. *xāni ordu xarši*, tib. *rgyal po'i brang*). In the Mongolian translation Rajagriha is called by its full name only when mentioned for the first time, further in the text it is shortened to mong. *raǰagraha balγasun* while an ordinary king's palace is mong. *qaγan-u qarši*.

9. Oir. *üzesküleng oki* 'Beautiful top', tib. *mdzes pa'i tog* id., mong. *ručir-a ketu*, skr. *rucira-ketu* 'Ruchiraketu' (lit. 'a beautiful top'). (Chs. 2, 3, 10, 15, 20). Name of a bodhisattva who appears in Ch. 2 with a question about the limit of Shakyamuni's life. In Ch. 3 he sees a dream and hears the verses which he retells in Ch. 4 (without his name mentioned). Whether a coincidence or not, an adjective oir. *üzesküleng* 'beautiful' (the same as in his name) is used in this dream a dozen times as a modifier to different objects. In Ch. 20 this bodhisattva praises the Buddha using the word "beautiful" several times too. His name is mentioned among other bodhisattva's names to remember in Ch. 10. Wherever he appears his name is accompanied with the word "bodhisattva" in all translations (in Tibetan it precedes his name, in two others it follows it). Only Oirat and Tibetan texts introduce him in Ch. 2 using the words "by name" (oir. *kemēkü*, tib. *ces bya ba*). Ruchiraketu is the name of a king from Ch. 12 (see No 34).

10. Oir. *šākya muni* 'Shakyamuni', tib. *shā kya thub* 'Shakya sage', mong. *sikamuni*, skr. *śākya-muni* 'Shakyamuni'. (Chs. 2, 5, 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21). In the Sutra the

Buddha is much more often called by one of his epithets than by his name Shakyamuni. In Ch. 2 it is used regularly while asking and answering questions about the limit of Shakyamuni's life. In Ch. 7 it is pronounced several times by the Buddha himself when he instructs a king how the latter should name him. At the end of two stories told by the Buddha himself he says: "King Susambhava (see No 34) was me, Shakyamuni" (Ch. 13) and in *jataka*-story on the tigress he says: "Mahasattva (see No 67) was me, Shakyamuni" (Ch. 18).[14] All other cases are its single uses and it is difficult to find any pattern in them. Only in the Mongolian translation is the word "buddha" (mong. *burqan*) regularly added after the name Shakyamuni wherever he is mentioned. In the Oirat translation it is used only when tib. *sangs rgyas* 'buddha' is used in Tibetan (mainly in Ch. 7). In Ch. 12 he is the second among four who are paid homage to (for three others see Nos 3, 28, 29).

11. Oir. *ɣangɣa* 'Ganges', tib. *gang gā* id., mong. *gangga* id., skr. *gañga* id. (Chs. 2, 7, 14). The name of the river is used for poetical comparison and mostly in verses. Impossibility to count something is compared to impossibility to count the number of grains of sand in the river Ganges. In Ch. 2 it is the limit of Shakyamuni's life, in Ch. 7 it shows the number of the Buddha-worlds, in Ch. 14 it denotes the profoundness of Sutra. Impossibility for flowers to grow in the Ganges is equal to impossibility to get Shakyamuni's relics in Ch. 1. In all translations the word "river" (oir. *müren*, tib. *klung*, mong. *mören*) is added after the name.

12. Oir. *sümer* 'Sumeru', tib. *ri rab* id., mong. *sümir / sümbür* id., skr. *sumeru* id. (Chs. 2, 4, 7, 20, 21). In the Oirat and Mongolian translations the word "mountain" (oir. *oula*, mong. *aɣula*) is regularly added after the name though in Tibetan there is none. Sometimes the name is preceded by Sumeru's title "king of mountains" (oir. *oulayin xān*, tib. *ri'i rgyal po*, mong. *aɣulas-un qaɣan*). The name of the mountain is used mostly in verses to show impossibility to count limit of Shakyamuni's life (Ch. 2), to show that the Buddha's virtues are as endless as stones of Mt. Sumeru (Ch. 4) or they are just like Sumeru (Ch. 7) and he himself is like Sumeru (Ch. 21). His brilliance illuminates Mt. Sumeru's mountains (Ch. 20). All the buddhas' golden colour is compared to that of Sumeru (Ch. 4). When in comparison not a single mountain but a myriad of

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14   There is one more *jataka*-story (about fish) in Ch. 17 with the same phrase but without the Buddha's name ("the merchant's son Jalavahana was me"). For Jalavahana see No 52.

them is used plural is sometimes marked by oir. *noγoud*, tib. *rnams*, mong. *-s* (oir. *sümer oula noγoud* 'mountains', tib. *ri rab rnams*, mong. *sümbür aγulas* id.).

13. Oir. *küüdane* 'Kaudinya', tib. *kau D+Ni nya* id., mong. *kaudiny-a* id., skr. *kauṇḍinya* id. (Chs. 2, 8). A brahman whose name is always preceded by his title "**the teacher and expounder** Kaundinya brahman" (oir. *suryaliyin baqši eši üzüülüqči biraman küüdane kemēkü*, tib. *slob dpon lung ston pa bram ze kau D+Ni nya zhes bya ba*, mong. *vivagirid öggügči baγsi kaudini-a neretü biraman*) appears in Ch. 2 to ask the Buddha for a boon (a relic) and the second time in Ch. 8 to praise Sarasvati. When his name is mentioned for the first time the words "by name" introduce it. When addressed he is called just "brahman". His title "expounder" implies "[one who] explains the **prophecy** [of enlightenment]" (oir. *eši üzüülüqči*, tib. *lung ston pa*, mong. *vivagirid öggügči*) and a special Ch. 15 is called "The **prophecy** concerning the ten thousand divine sons" (oir. *arban mingγan tenggeriyin köböün-dü eši üzüülüqsen*, tib. *lha'i bus tong phrag bcu lung bstan pa*, mong. *arban mingγan tngri-yin köbün-dür vivagirid öggügsen*). This prophecy to enlightenment is granted (oir. *bodhi-du eši üzüülbei*, tib. *byang chub tu lung bston*, mong. *bodhi qutuγ vivagirid ögbei*) by the Buddha to divine sons in this chapter.

14. Oir. *raxula bariqsan* 'Holding Rahula', tib. *sgra gcan zin* id., mong. *raquli*, skr. *rāhula* 'Rahula'. (Ch. 2). The name of the Buddha's son is used to be compared with the Buddha's taking care of all living beings. (Cf. No 61).

15. Oir. *xamuq amitan üzekülē tālxu* 'Pleasant when all living beings look [at him]', tib. *'jig rten thams cad kyis mthong na dga* 'Pleasant when all worlds look [at him]', mong. *qamuγ amitan-i üjebesü bayasqulang-tu* 'Pleasant when all living beings look [at him]', skr. s*arva-loka-priya-darśana* 'Pleasant when all worlds look [at him]'. (Ch. 2). The name of a young man. His name is accompanied by his title "a young man Lizaji" three times (oir. *lizaǰi köüken*, tib. *li ts+tsha bī gzhon nu*, mong. *liǰavi ori*). In the Oirat and Mongolian translations it is placed after the name, while in Tibetan it is placed before. Skr. *licchavi* is the name of a royal clan. When he is introduced for the first time there are words "by name" placed in between the name and the title in the Oirat and Mongolian translations and after the name in Tibetan (oir. NAME[15] *kemēkü lizaǰi köüken*, tib. *li ts+tsha bī gzhon nu* NAME *ba zhes bya ba*, mong. NAME *nere-tü liǰavi*

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ori). Though his name in Tibetan is the same all three times the Oirat and Mongolian translations differ a bit: oir. *xamuq yirtünčüner …* (two times) and mong. *qamuɣ yirtinčü dakin-a …* (once) to translate tib. *'jig rten thams cad …* In the dialogues with Kaundinya he is addressed just "Young man Litsavi" which favours of considering Litsavi a proper name too.

16. Oir. *rahula* 'Rahu',[16] tib. *sgra gcan* id., mong. *raquda* id., skr. *rāhu* id. (Chs. 2, 14, 18). The name of a planet in the Indian mythology which causes solar eclipses. The name is used in verses in comparison. In Ch. 14 the Oirat spelling of the name is without using the *galic* letter "*h*" (oir. *raxula*). The Mongolian text in Ch. 14 gives a different version as well (mong. *raqu*). Probably it is not an accidental difference: Rahu in Chs. 2, 18 is a devourer of Sun, while in Ch. 14 it is a naga-chief.

17. Oir. *küǰiyin ünür anggilxui* 'Smelling of incense scent', tib. *spos kyi dang ldan pa* 'Possessing incense', mong. *küǰi ünür-tü ganda manda* 'Possessing incense Ganda manda', skr. *gandha-mādana* 'Gandhamandana' (lit. 'intoxicating with fragrance'. (Ch. 2). According to the Buddhist cosmology it is the name of a mountain to the east of Meru with fragrant forests. In all translations the word "mountain" (oir. *oula*, tib. *ri bo*, mong. *aɣul-a*) is added (in theTibetan translations it preceeds the name, in the Oirat and Mongolian follows it).

18. Oir. *zambudib* 'Jambudvipa', tib. *'dzam bu'i gling* id. (lit. 'continent of Jambu'), mong. *čambudiib*, skr. *jambu-dvipa* 'Jambudvipa' (Chs. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17). According to the Buddhist cosmology it is the name of the continent. Since this continent is the residence of all living beings the name is very often used in the Sutra (more than 40 times). It is for example mentioned in Ch. 7 to promise that Four Great Kings (maharajas) will protect all the living beings dwelling in Jambudvipa. Another, more frequent reason to mention Jambudvipa is that the Sutra exists there and a wish is expressed for it to last there forever. The name "Jambudvipa" is often modified by a pronoun "here" (oir. *zambudib **ende***, tib. *'dzam bu'i kling **'dir***) but in Mongolian another construction (more Mongolian than Tibetan) is used: mong. *ene čambudiib-tur*. Using such a modifier implies the readers dwell in the same place as is described in the Sutra. Only in Ch. 17, a *jataka*-story about fish reborn as divine sons, it is said "there in Jambudvipa" (oir. *tende*, tib. *de na*), still mong. *ene čambudiib-daki* 'in this Jambudib'.

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16   It is not to be mixed with oir. *raxu* 'planet', tib. *gza'* id., mong. *graɣ* id. which denote troubles caused by planets and are used in the text of Sutra as well.

19. Oir. *bodhi sayitur xurāqsan* '[One who] gathered bodhi properly', tib. *byang chub yang dag par bsdus pa* id., mong. *bodi qutuγ-i ünen-iyer quriyaγsan* id., skr. *bodhi-sattva-sam-uccayā* id. (Chs. 5, 15, 21). Name of a goddess. In all translations the word "goddess" (oir. *okin tenggeri*, tib. *lha mo*, mong. *ökin tngri*) is added before her name. Her status in the Sutra is rather high: she is addressed by the Buddha with the words "**Noble** goddess" (oir. *izourtani*, tib. *rigs kyi*, mong. *iǰayurtan-u*) in Chs. 5, 15 and that is she who praises the Buddha in the last (21st) chapter of the Sutra.

20. Oir. *altan γariyin erketü xān* 'Powerful king of golden hands', tib. *gser gyi lag pa'i dbang-po* 'Ruler of golden hands', mong. *erketü altan γar* 'Powerful golden hand', skr. *suvarṇa-bhuja-indra* 'Ruler with golden hands'. (Ch. 5). Name of a king. He appears only in one chapter and his name is introduced with the words "by name". In the Oirat translation the word "by name" (oir. *kemēkü*) is placed in the wrong position—after the word "king" (oir. *xān*), thus including the latter in the name (cf. mong. *erketü altan γar neretü tere qaγan*). This king pronounced praises for all the tathagatas and a prayer. Describing their appearance he used the word "gold" several times (speaking of their limbs, tongues, etc.). In his prayer he calls the Sutra "supreme golden light" (oir. *dēdü altan gerel*, tib. *gser 'od dam pa*, mong. *degedü altan gerel*). This abridged name for the Sutra is found only in this chapter (in other places its full title is given). He has two sons both having word "gold" in their names (see Nos 21, 22).

21. Oir. *altan γartuyin erke* 'Power of the one who possesses golden hands', tib. *gser gyi lag pa'i dbang* 'Power of hands of gold', mong. *erketü altan γar* 'Powerful golden hand', skr. *kanaka-bhuja-indra* 'Ruler with golden hands'. (Ch. 5). Name of a king's first son. His father's name (see No 20) is almost the same the only difference between them is the word "golden" (skr. *suvarna* in the father's instead of skr. *kanaka* in the son's). The Tibetan and Oirat translations changed another word, instead of "ruler (or powerful)" in the father's name the word "power" is used in the son's. The Mongolian translation of both names is the same.

22. Oir. *altan gerel* 'Golden light', tib. *gser gyi 'od* 'Light of gold', mong. *altan gerel* 'Golden light', skr. Kanaka-prabha id. (Ch. 5). Name of a king's second son. For his father's name see No 20. The name of this son is almost the same as the short name of the Sutra except for a different Sanskrit word for "golden" (skr. *suvarna* in the Sutra instead of skr. *kanaka* in the son's name). The Mongolian translation of both names is the same.

23. Four great kings-guardians (*maharajas*). (Ch. 7). This chapter is titled: oir. *dörbön yeke xān* 'four great kings', tib. *rgyal po chen po bzhi* id., mong. *dörbön maqaraaǰa* 'four maharajas'. They are addressed as "Four great kings" or just "Great kings" in the dialogues in this chapter. Still personal names of these four kings are mentioned in this chapter four times. Each time all four names go one after another forming a group of four. In other places (Ch. 14) no individual names of the guardians are given but the group of four guardians is mentioned.

23.1. Oir. *olo sonosoqsoni köböün* 'Son of the "[One who] heard much"', tib. *rnam thos kyi bu* 'Son of a "Well listening [one]"', mong. *vaiseravani*, skr. *vaiśravaṇa* 'Vaishravana' (lit. 'son of Vishravana'). The Tibetan translation of his father's name, skr. *viśravaṇa* (lit. 'great glory'), is based on skr. *vi-* intensifying prefix (tib. *rnams*) and skr. *śravaṇa* 'hearing' (tib. *thos* 'listen, hear'). Tib. *rnams* was translated in Oirat as *olo* 'a lot'. Vaishravana is the only one from the group whose name is given separately in two chapters: among other protectors in Ch. 14 and among the listeners in Ch. 21.

23.2. Oir. *oron orčini sakiqči* '[One who] guards the country and neighbourhood', tib. *yul 'khor srung* '[One who] guards the country', mong. *dirdirasdiri*, skr. *dhṛta-rāṣṭra* 'Dhritarashtra' (lit. '[one whose] kingdom is firm').

23.3. Oir. *xutuq töröqsön* '[One who] produced sanctity', tib. *'phags skyes* 'Noble birth', mong. *virudaki*, skr. *virūdhaka* 'Virudhaka'. The Tibetan translation of the name is based on skr. *virūdha* 'born, arisen'.

23.4. Oir. *mou nidütü* 'Possessing bad eyes', tib. *mig mi bzang* 'Not beautiful eyes', mong. *virubaγsi*, skr. *virūpakṣa* 'Virupaksha'. The Tibetan translation of Sanskrit name is based on skr. *vi-rūpa* 'ugly' (*rūpa* 'beautiful') and *akṣa* 'eye'.

24. Oir. *erliq* 'Erlig', tib. *gshin rje* 'Yama', mong. *erglig qaγan* 'Erlig-khan', skr. *yama* 'Yama' (Chs. 7, 14). Though in the Oirat translation there is no specification that it is Yama, the Lord of Death, not a subordinate *erlig*; the other translations and the context: "sufferings of the world of Yama" (oir. *erligiyin yertünčüyin zobolong*, tib. *gshin rje'i 'jig rten gyi sdug bsngal*, mong. *erglig qaγan-u yirtinčü-dür-daki … ǰobolong*) make clear who he is. The same is applied to *erlig* in Ch. 14 where he is mentioned among most respectable world-protectors. There in Mongolian translation his name is mong. *yam-a*.

25. There is a group of gods, goddesses, yakshas and nagas who come to listen to the Sutra together with Four Great kings (see No 23) in Ch. 7. The same

list appears in two places and the name order seems to be important so they are given under one number here. Some of the names were mentioned above so only the reference number is provided. All of these names are included in verses in Ch. 14 where they follow each other in the same order among other names mentioned only in Ch. 14. Still these names are usually at the beginning of the lists (in the first line of four). Some of them have a special chapter devoted to her/him (Ch. 8—Sarasvati, Ch. 9—Shri, Ch. 10—Dridha, Ch. 11—Samjnaya). The sequence of the chapters follows their sequence on the list.

25.1. Oir. *esürü*. (Ch. 7). (see No 7).

25.2. Oir. *xurmusta* 'Indra', tib. *brgya byin* id. (lit. '100 sacrifices'), mong. *qurmusta* id., skr. *indra* 'Indra'. (Chs. 7, 13). His name is always preceded by his title "the ruler of the gods" in all translations (oir. *tenggerineriyin erketü*, tib. *lha rnams kyi dbang po*, mong. *tngri nar-ün erketü*) which is often used without his name. (Cf. 39.4.1).

25.3. Oir. *egešiqtü*. (Ch. 7). (see No 3).

25.4. Oir. *coq* 'Glory', tib. *dpal* id., mong. *sirikini*, skr. *śrī* 'Shri'. (Chs. 7, 14). Her name is omitted in the Oirat manuscript in Ch. 7 in the first list (in the Tibetan text as well) but not in the Oirat xylograph (f. 46v) and in the Mongolian translation. She is called "the great goddess" (oir. *yeke okin tenggeri*, tib. *lha mo chen mo*, mong. *yeke ökin tngri*) which is placed before her name in the Oirat and Tibetan translations while in Mongolian follows it. In Ch. 14 in verses Shri is mentioned only by her name twice among many other protectors, but still there is a common title "great goddesses" applying to several names including hers. In this chapter in Mongolian her name is *čoүtu* but not *sirikini*. The name of the same goddess in different chapters (or situations) is a bit different: oir. *coqtu* (see No 28).

25.5. Oir. *batu*. (Ch. 7). (See No 6).

25.6. Oir. *sayin medeqči* 'Well knowing one', tib. *yang dag shes id.*, mong. *üneniyer medegči* 'Really knowing one', skr. *saṃ-jñāya* 'Samjnaya' (lit. 'really knowing'). (Chs. 7, 11, 14). The name of a yaksha chief. His name is the title of Ch. 11 where he promises to protect *dharma* and the Sutra. He is a great leader of yakshas (oir. *xor ögüqčiyin ayimagiyin yeke noyon*, tib. *gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po*, mong. *čidgüd-ün ayimaү-un yeke noyan*) according to Chs. 7, 11. In verses in Ch. 14 he is mentioned twice. Once he is called "Victorious army chief" (oir.

ilaɣuqsan sürügiyin manglai, tib. *rgyal pa khyu mchog*, mong. *ilaɣuɣči sürüg-ün manglai*) which precedes his name. In the latter case in the Mongolian translation his name is transliterates as *sanǰanaǰani*. The second time he is one of yaksha-chiefs and his name in Mongolian is translated.

25.7. Oir. *yeke erke örgöǰiqsön* '[One who] expanded power', tib. *dbang phyug chen po* 'Maheshvara' (lit. 'great powerful'), mong. *makasvari*, skr. *maha-iśvara* 'Maheshvara'. (Chs. 7, 14). He is a divine son (oir. *tenggeriyin köböün*, tib. *lha'i bu*, mong. *tngriyin köbegün*) in Ch. 7, but in verses in Ch. 14 it is a name of a yaksha-chief. In Indian mythology it is an epithet of Shiva. The Oirat name is different from its Mongolian translation (if it is translated): mong. *yeke erketü*.

25.8. Oir. *ɣartān očirtu* 'Holding vajra in his hand', tib. *lag na rdo rje* id., mong. *ɣartaɣan včir-tu* id., skr. *vajrapāṇi*. (Chs. 7, 14). He is a great leader of yakshas (oir. *xor ögüqčiyin ayimagiyin yeke noyon*, tib. *gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po*, mong. *čidgüd-ün ayimaɣ-un yeke noyan*). In Ch. 14 in verses his name appears twice and both times his title is just "a ruler of yakshas" (oir. *yakxayin erketü*, tib. *gnod sbyin dbang*, mong. *yaksas-un erketü*). This title in the Oirat and Tibetan translations goes after his name, in Mongolian it goes before. In the second time (still in verse) the Mongolian text provides the transliteration of his name (mong. *včirabani*) but not translation.

25.9. Oir. *sayin maṇi* 'Good jewel', tib. *nor bu bzang* id., mong. *mani badari*, skr. *māṇi-bhadra* 'Manibhadra' (lit. 'Good jewel'). (Chs. 7, 14). He is a great leader of yakshas (oir. *xor ögüqčiyin ayimagiyin yeke noyon*, tib. *gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po*, mong. *čidgüd-ün ayimaɣ-un yeke noyan*). In Ch. 14 in verses he is called just "ruler of yakshas" (oir. *xor ögüqčiyin erketü*, tib. *gnod sbyin dbang*, mong. *yaksas-un qan*) which precedes his name in all translations.

25.10. Oir. *bulāqči eke*. (Ch. 7). (see No 5).

25.11. Oir. *ese bülidüqsen* 'Not warming', tib. *ma dros pa id.*, mong. *anubadad*, skr. *an-avatapta* 'Anavatapta' (lit. 'not heated'). (Chs. 7, 14). This is the name of a naga king who is in Ch. 7 at first called a great naga king (oir. *kluyin yeke xān*, tib. *klu'i rgyal po chen po*, mong. *luus-un yeke qaɣan*) and then just a naga king (oir. *kluyin xān*, tib. *klu'i dbang po*, mong. *luus-un qaɣan*), which title goes before his name. The second variant is used in the verses in Ch. 14 and it goes before the name only in the Oirat and Tibetan translations. The spelling of its Oirat name in Ch. 14 in the first of its uses is different: *ese büridügsen*.

25.12. Oir. *dalai* 'Ocean', tib. *rgya mtsho* id., mong. *sakir-a*, skr. *sāgara* 'Sagara' (lit. 'ocean'). (Chs. 7, 14). This is the name of another naga king who is in Ch. 7 at first called a great naga king (oir. *kluyin yeke xān*, tib. *klu'i rgyal po chen po*, mong. *luus-un yeke qaɣan*) and then just a naga king (oir. *kluyin xān*, tib. *klu'i dbang po*, mong. *luus-un qaɣan*), which title goes before the name. The second variant is used in the verses in Ch. 14 and it goes before the name only in the Oirat translation, while in the Mongolian it followes the name. In Tibetan there is one title for both Anavatapta (see No 25.11) and Sagara.

26. The names of two mountain ranges are given as a pair after the Sumeru mountain in Ch. 7. Both have a title equal to that of Sumeru—"king of mountains" (cf. No 12) and both are used in plural which is not marked in all translations because they are modified by numerals.

26.1. Oir. *orčin kürēleqsen* '[One] surrounding neighbourhood', tib. *khor yug* 'Circular', mong. *čakiravar*, skr. *cakravāḍa* 'Chakravada' (Ch. 7). The name of a mountain range.

26.2. Oir. *yeke orčin kürēleqsen* 'Great [one] surrounding neighbourhood', tib. *khor yug chen po* 'Great circular', mong. *yeke čakiravar* 'Great Chakivar', skr. *mahā-cakravāḍa* 'Great Chakravada'. (Ch. 7). In the Mongolian translation half of the name is translated, the other half is transliterated.

27. Oir. *ilaɣuqsan* 'Victorious', tib. *rgyal* id., mong. *bus*, skr. *puṣyā* 'Pushya'. (Ch. 8). The name of a constellation which the Moon passes (lunar zodiac). In all translations the word "star" (oir. *odon*, tib. *skar ma*, mong. *odun*) is added (in the Oirat and Mongolian translations it is after the name, while in Tibetan it is before it).

28. Oir. *coqtu* 'Glorious', tib. *dpal* id., mong. *sirikini*, skr. *śrī* 'Shri'. (Chs. 9, 12, 14, 21). It is the name of the same goddess as No 25.4. Throughout Ch. 9 which is called "great goddess Shri" (oir. *coqtu yeke okin tenggeri*, tib. *lha mo chen mo dpal*, mong. *yeke ökin tngri sirikini*) the goddess is called by these standard name and title. The only difference is in oir. *yeke coqtu okin tenggeri* with the changed word order in her title in the very first phrase of the chapter. The Tibetan and Mongolian texts do not show any difference and it looks like a copyist's mistake in the Oirat. Still the Oirat xylograph repeats it (f. 65a). The standard one is used in Ch. 12 as well, there she is the third among four who are paid homage to (for others see Nos 3, 10, 29). However, slight changes in its Tibetan variant in the beginning of Ch. 14 (tib. *dpal ldan lha mo*) caused

changes both in Oirat (*coqtu okin tenggeri*) and Mongolian (*sirikini ökin tngri*). In the last chapter the Oirat (but not Mongolian) variant follows the word order of the standard Tibetan name and title: oir. *yeke okin tenggeri coqtu*, the same word order is in the Oirat xylograph: oir. *yeke okin tenggeri coq* (f. 129b).

29. Oir. *erdem* [= *erdeni* (f.66a)] *ceceq erdem dalai beedurya kigēd*: *altan oulayin önggö sayin altan-du üzeqdeküi coq* 'Precious flower, ocean of merits, colour of beryl and golden mountain, glory seen in beautiful gold', tib. *rin chen me tog yon tan rgya mtsho bai Dū rya dang gser gyi ri kha dog bzang po gser du snang ba'i dpal* 'Precious flower, ocean of merits, beryl and golden mountain, beautiful appearance, glory of shining gold', mong. *erdeni čečeg-ün dalai vayiduri-a kiged: ölǰei-tü altan aɣula sayin önggetü altan gerel* 'Ocean of precious flowers, beryl and golden fortune mountain, golden light of good colour', skr. *ratna-kusuma-guṇa-sāgara-vaiḍūrya-kanaka-giri-suvarṇa-kāñcana-prabhāsa-śrī* 'precious flower, ocean of merits, beryl and gold mountain gold, glory of golden splendor' (Chs. 9, 12). The name of a buddha. The word "buddha" (oir. *burxan*, tib. *sangs rgyas*, mong. *burqan*) is placed before the name and after the name it is said "by name" in all translations. The elements from the name of the Sutra and goddess's name are clearly distinguished in the buddha's name. His name is repeated in a list of four who are praised in the beginning of Ch. 12 (for others see Nos 3, 10, 28). There in his name the word "mountain" (oir. oula) is omitted only in the Oirat manuscript: instead of *altan oulayin önggö* as in xylograph (f. 77b) *altani önggö* is written. It could have been just a mistake of a copyist but for the genitive case suffix in *altani*, which shows a deliberate connection between the two words.

30. The names of the goddess Shri's dwelling place (a palace, a grove and a house) are in Ch. 9 as well.

30.1. Oir. *burɣasun nabčitu* 'With willow leaves', tib. *lcang lo can* id., mong. *adakavandi*, skr. *aḍakavatī* 'Adakavati'. (Ch. 9). The name of a palace (oir. *ordu xarši*, tib. *pho brang*, mong. *ordu qarši*).

30.2. Oir. *buyani cecegiyin gerel* 'The light of the flowers of virtue', tib. *bsod nams kyi me tog 'od* id., mong. *buyan-u čečeg-ten kürel* [= *gerel*], skr. *puṇya-kusuma-prabhā* id. (Ch. 9). The name of a grove. The name is supplied by the words "by name" that are applied in the Oirat and Mongolian translations in different ways. The former is repeating the Tibetan structure while the latter is free from it: oir. *dēdü oi* NAME *kemēküi* 'most excellent grove NAME by name',

tib. *tshal dam pa* NAME *zhes bya ba* id., mong. *degedü* NAME *neretü čečeglig* 'most excellent NAME by name grove'. (Cf. No 30.3).

30.3. Oir. [*altan* (f. 66b)] *ilayuqsan belge* 'Golden dhvaja', tib. *gser gyi rgyal mtshan* id., mong. *altan tuγ* id., skr. *suvarṇa-dhvaja* id. (Ch. 9). The name of a house. The house is specified as "the most excellent house" (oir. *dēdü balyasun*, tib. *khang pa dam pa*, mong. *degedü linqu-a*).[17] The way of adding the words "by name" is applied here in a different way if compared to No 30.2. Neither Oirat nor Mongolian translations stick to the Tibetan model: oir. NAME *kemēkü dēdü balyasun* lit. 'NAME by name most excellent city', tib. *khang pa dam pa* NAME *zhes bya ba* lit. 'most excellent house NAME by name', mong. *degedü linqu-a* NAME *neretü qarši* 'most excellent NAME by name palace'.

31. Oir. *mayidari* 'Maitreya', tib. *byams pa* id., mong. *mayidari* id., skr. *maitreya* id. (Chs. 9, 14, 18). The name of a bodhisattva. In the *jataka*-story in Ch. 18 he was the first son of the king Maharatha (see Nos 64, 65).

32. The beginning of Ch. 10 pays homage to several buddhas (2 names), tathagatas (7 names), bodhisattvas (5 names) and buddhas of four directions (for the latter see No 3). Only the names of boddhisattvas are supplied with the words "by name" in postposition. Not a few names have the words "gold" and "light" and one name (No 32.11) coincides with the short name of the Sutra (see No 20). Three names of tathagatas (Nos 32.3, 32.5, 32.6) are repeated in Ch. 15 as the names of buddhas though with slight changes (see Nos 42, 45, 47).

32.1. Oir. *erdeni usnirtu* 'Possessing a precious head-tuft', tib. *rin chen gtsug tor* 'Precious head-tuft', mong. *ratnasiki,* skr. *ratna-śikhin* 'Ratnashikin' (lit. 'precious head-tuft'). (Chs. 10, 13, 16, 17). The name of a buddha. In each of Chs. 13, 17, 18 his name is connected with a certain story which begins after this buddha has attained complete nirvana.

32.2. Oir. *kir ügei badaraxui erdeni altan gerel gegerēküi oki* 'Top shining with golden [colour] of a blazing spotless jewel', tib. *dri ma med par 'bar ba rin chen gser gyi 'od zer snang pa'i tog* id., mong. *kkir ügegüy-e badarangyui erdeni-yin* [*altan*][18] *gerel geyigülügči-yin oki* id., skr. *vimala-ujjvala-ratna-suvarṇa-bhāsaketu* id. (Ch. 10). The name of a buddha.

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17   The Mongolian translation has the word "lotus" (mong. *lingqu-a*) instead of "house". The same mistake is in the Oirat xylograph (f. 59a).

18   The word *altan* is missing in the Oirat xylograph as well (f. 61b).

32.3. Oir. *zambuyin altani ilaɣuqsan belgetü: altan-du gegēreqči* 'Possessing *dhvaja* of jambu gold, one shining in gold', tib. *'zham bu gser gyi rgyal mtshan gser du snang ba* 'Dhvaja of jambu gold, one shining in gold', mong. *čambu mören-ü altan tuɣ altan üǰegdeküi-tü* 'Dhvaja of Jambu-river gold, possessing a golden shining', skr. *jambu-suvarṇa-dhvaja-kāñcana-bhāsa* 'Dhvaja of jambu gold shining in the gold'. (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata. In the Mongolian translation an explanatory word "river" (mong. *mören*) for Sanskrit word *jambu* denotes that it is a river but not a tree. Cf. No 45 which is almost the same name of a buddha.

32.4. Oir. *altan-du gegēreküi züreken* 'Heart shining in gold', tib. *gser du snang pa'i snying po* id., mong. *altan üǰegdeküi-tü-da ǰirüken* id., skr. suvarṇa-bhāsa-garbha *id.* (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata.

32.5. Oir. *zoun narani gerel gegēreküi züreken* 'Heart of shining of a hundred suns' rays', tib. *nyi ma'i rgya'i 'od zer snang ba'i snying po* id., mong. *ǰaɣun naran-u gerel-iyer geyigülügči-yin ǰirüken* id., skr. *suvarṇa-śata-raśmi-bhāsa-garbha* 'Heart shining with a hundred golden rays'. (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata. Cf. No 47 which is almost the same name of a buddha.

32.6. Oir. *altan erdeni ɣarxui oron kükür dabxurlaqsan* 'Source of golden jewels, umbrellas in tires', tib. *gser rin chen 'byung gans gdugs brtsegs* id., mong. *altan erdeni ɣarqu-yin oron sükür*[19] *dabqučayuluɣsan* id., skr. *suvarṇa-ratna-ākara-cchatra-kūṭa* id. (Chs. 10, 15, 19). The name of a tathagata. This name in Chs. 15 and 19 has a slight difference: it has a conjunction between the first two words: "gold and jewels" in all translations (oir. *altan kigēd erdeni*, tib. *gser dang rin po che'i*, mong. *altan kiged erdeni*). In Ch. 19 a great number of bodhisattvas praise this Tathagata. In Ch. 15 it is the name of a buddha. There the name is followed by the word "by name" (oir. *kemēn*, tib. *zhes bya ba*, mong. *neretü*).

32.7. Oir. *altan ceceq badaraxui gereliyin oki* 'Top of light of a shining golden flower', tib. *gser gyi me tog 'bar ba'i 'od zer gyi tog id.*, mong. *altan čečeg badarang-ɣui gerel-un oki* id., skr. *suvarṇa-puṣpa-ujjvala-raśmi-ketu* id. (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata.

32.8. Oir. *yeke zula* 'Great lamp', tib. *sgron ma chen mo* id., mong. *yeke ǰula* id., skr. *mahā-pradīpa* id. (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata.

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19   It is *sikür* in the Oirat xylograph (f. 61b).

32.9. Oir. *erdeni ceceq* [= *oki* (f. 68b)] 'Precious top', tib. *rin chen tog* id., mong. *erdeni-yin oki* id., skr. *ratna-ketu* id. (Ch. 10). The name of a tathagata. (Cf. No 2.2).

32.10. Oir. *üzesküleng oki* (see No 8). The name of a bodhisattva.

32.11. Oir. *dēdü altan gerel* 'Supreme golden light', tib. *gser 'od dam pa id.*, mong. *degedü altan gerel-tü* 'Possessing supreme golden light', skr. *suvarṇa-bhāsa-uttama* 'Supreme golden light'. (Ch. 10). The name of a bodhisattva.

32.12. Oir. *altani züreken* 'Heart of gold', tib. *gser gyi snying* id., mong. *suvarn-a garbi*, skr. *suvarṇa-garbha* 'Golden heart'. (Ch. 10). The name of a bodhisattva.

32.13. Oir. *nasuda uyilaqči* 'Constantly crying one', tib. *rtag tu ngu* id., mong. *sadaban ručita*, skr. *sadā-prarudita* id. (Ch. 10). The name of a bodhisattva.

32.14. Oir. *nomiyin xutuq* 'Dharma sanctity', tib. *chos 'phags* 'Noble dharma', mong. *darma udgati*, skr. *dharma-udgata* 'Dharmodgata' (lit. 'noble dharma'). (Ch. 10). The name of a bodhisattva. The Oirat translation not only follows the Tibetan word order but adds a genitive suffix to the first word to confirm the attribute function of the first word.

33. Oir. *kücüni erketüyin oki* 'Top among strong rulers', tib. *stobs kyi dbang po'i tog* id., mong. *küčün erketü-yin oki* id., skr. *bala-indra-ketu* 'Balendraketu' (lit. 'top among strong rulers'). (Ch. 12). The name of a king—father of Ruchiraketu (see No 34).

34. Oir. *üzesküleng oki* 'Beautiful top', tib. *mdzes pa'i tog* id., mong. *üjesküleng oki* id., skr. *rucira-ketu* 'Ruchiraketu' (lit. 'beautiful top'). (Ch. 12). The name of a king—son of Balendraketu (see No 33). Ruchiraketu is the name of a bodhisattva as well (see No 9). There is a difference in rendering this name but only in the Mongolian translation—the bodhisattva's name is transliterated and the king's is translated.

35. Oir. *dēdüyin erketü oki* 'Top among best rulers', tib. *mchog gi dbang po'i tog* id., mong. *degedü erketü-yin oki* id., skr. *vara-indra-ketu* 'Varendraketu' (lit. 'top among best rulers'). (Ch. 12). The name of a king, grandfather of Ruchiraketu (see No 34).

36. Oir. *sayin boluqsan* '[One who] became perfect', tib. *legs byung* id., mong. *sučadi*, skr. *su-sambhava* 'Susambhava' (lit. 'being perfect'). (Ch. 13). The name of a king. The title of Ch. 13 is the name of this king and the whole chapter is devoted to him. When his name appears in the chapter for the first time he is called 'a king by name "Who became perfect" in his teaching' (oir. *töüni šaǰindu sayin boluqsan kemēkü xān*, tib. *de'i bstan la legs byung zhes bya ba rgyal po*, mong. *tere burqan-u sašin-dur sučadi neretü yeke qayan*). "He" or "that buddha" (in the Mongolian translation) is the buddha Ratnashikhin (see No 32.1) who by that moment has just passed into nirvana. Throughout the chapter he is called by his name only adding the word "king"

37. Oir. *ilayuqsani erketü zarliq bolxuyin tula* 'For the sake of the victorious ruler's words', tib. *rgyal dbang gsung phyir* id., mong. *ilayuysan-u ǰarliy-un tulada* 'For the sake of the words of victorious one', skr. *jina-indra-ghoṣā* 'Words of a victorious ruler'. (Ch. 13). The name of a palace where the king Susambhava (see No 34) was sleeping.

38. Oir. *erdeni xurāqči* 'Collector of jewels', tib. *rin chen sog pa* id., mong. *ratnašiki / ratnarašiki / ratna riši*, skr. *ratna-uccaya* 'Ratnoccaya' (lit. 'collector of jewels'). (Ch. 13). The name of a preacher of dharma. In the Mongolian translation his name is mixed with that of a buddha and changes towards the end of the chapter. In the Oirat and Tibetan texts he is called either "preacher of dharma" (oir. *nom ögöüleqči*, tib. *chos smra*), or "gelong" (oir. *dgelüng / gelüng*, tib. dge slong). These titles are often combined. In the Mongolian translations there are more variants which not only translate the Tibetan words but appear where there are no corresponding words in the Tibetan text: mong. *toyin / nom kelelegči* (tib. *chos smra*), mong. *ayay-a takimliy* (tib. *dge slong*), mong. *nomlayči* (no tib.). They can be combined too.

39. There is a chapter in the Sutra especially abundant in names—Ch. 14. The names are given in groups and some names repeat those from other chapters, others are mentioned twice in different places in this chapter and not a few are unique and not found in other places in the Sutra.

39.1. Names of the bodhisattvas (oir. *bodhi satv*, tib. *byang chub sems dpa'*, mong. *bodisung*).

39.1.1. Oir. *samanta bhadra* 'Samantabhadra', tib. *kun tu bzang po* 'Wholly good', mong. *samantabadiri*, skr. *samanta-bhadra* 'Samantabhadra' (lit. 'Wholly auspicious'). (Ch. 14). The name of a bodhisattva.

39.1.2. Oir. *mañžušri* 'Manjushri', tib. *'jam dpal* id., mong. *manǰuširi* id., skr. *mañjuśri* id. (Ch. 14, 18). The name of a bodhisattva. In a *jataka*-story in Ch. 18 he was Mahadeva the second son of the king Maharatha (see Nos 64, 66).

39.1.3. Oir. *mayidari.* (Ch. 14). (see No 31).

39.2. Names of gods (oir. *tenggeri noyoud*, tib. *lha rnams*, mong. *tngri ner*) and protectors (oir. *yertünčü tedküqči-noyoud*, tib. *'jig rten skyong rnams*, mong. *yertünčü sakiγčid*).

39.2.1. Oir. *esürü.* (Ch. 14). (see No 7).

39.2.2. Oir. *γartān očirtü.* (Ch. 14). (see No 25.8)

39.2.3. Oir. *sayin medeqči.* (Ch. 14). (see No 25.6)

39.2.4. Oir. *ese büridüqsen.* (Ch. 14). (see No 25.11)

39.2.5. Oir. *dalai.* (Ch. 14). (see No 25.12)

39.3. Names of powerful kings of the gods (oir. *tenggeriyin erketü xān*, tib. *lha dbang rgyal po*, mong. *tngri ner-ün qad*).

39.3.1. Oir. *egešiqtü.* (Ch. 14). (see No 3).

39.3.2. Oir. *coq.* (Ch. 14). (see No 25.4)

39.3.3. Oir. *olo sonosuqsani köböün.* (Ch. 14). (see No 23.1).

39.3.4. Oir. *dörbön xān-noyoud* 'four kings'. (Ch. 14). (see No 23).

39.4. Names of world-protectors. Most of them have a word "deity" as a definition.

39.4.1. Oir. *erketü* 'Indra', tib. *dbang po* id., mong. *indara* id., skr. *indra* id. (Ch. 14). (Cf. No 25.2).

39.4.2. Oir. *sara* 'Moon', tib. *zla ba* id., mong. *čindara* 'Chandra', skr. *soma* 'Moon'. (Ch. 14). The name of the Moon-god. In the Mongolian translation he is called by his different name, Chandra (from skr. *candra*).

39.4.3. Oir. *erliq*. (Ch. 14). (see No 24).

39.4.4. Oir. *kei-yin tngri* 'Wind god', tib. *rlung lha* id., mong. *kei-yin tngri* id., skr. *vāyu* 'Vayu'. (Ch. 14). The name of Vayu, the Wind-god. In all translations the word "deity" (oir. *tenggeri*, tib. *lha*, mong. *tngri*) is added. In Tibetan and Mongolian there is one word "deity" for two gods (Wind and Water) while in the Oirat each has a separate definition.

39.4.5. Oir. *usun tenggeri* 'Water-god', tib. *chu lha id.*, mong. *usun-u tngri* id., skr. *varuṇa* 'Varuna'. (Ch. 14). The name of Varuna, the Water-god.

39.4.6. Oir. *xatān üyiledüqči* 'Drying', tib. *skem byed* id., mong. *iskiidi*, skr. *skanda* 'Skanda'. (Ch. 14). The name of Shiva's son in Indian mythology. Its Tibetan translation as "drying" goes back to the "Amarakosha" lexicon. The Mongolian transliteration of the Sanskrit name is hardly recognizable as Skanda.

39.4.7. Oir. *oroxui arilγaxui* 'Entering and cleaning', tib. *'jug sel* id., mong. *visadi*, skr. *viṣṇu* 'Vishnu'. (Ch. 14). The Tibetan translation of Vishnu's name here is not the traditional one, which is tib. *khyab 'jug* 'all-pervading' (its Oirat translation would have been *tügēmel oroxu* id.).

39.4.8. Oir. *egešiqtü*. (Ch. 14). (see No 3).

39.4.9. Oir. *öqligö tüleši ideqči* 'One eating burnt oblations', tib. *sbyin sreg za* id., mong. *γal-un tngri* 'Fire-god', skr. *hutāśana* 'Hutashana' (lit. 'one eating burnt oblations'). (Ch. 14). The Tibetan and Oirat variants translate the Sanskrit word while the Mongolian suggests the referent's name. The Fire-god in the Indian mythology is known as skr. *agni* and skr. *hutāśana* is one of his epithets.

39.4.10. Oir. *yesün törölkitü* 'All living beings' (lit. 'having nine births'), tib. *skye dgu* id., mong. *barabačidi*, skr. *prajā-pati* 'Prajapati' (lit. 'master of all beings'). (Ch. 14). In the Tibetan translations of his name (repeated in Oirat) only the first part of the name (skr. *prajā* 'all living beings') was translated. In the Indian mythology skr. *prajāpati* is an epithet that can be applied to many deities (Vishnu, Shiva, Brahma, Sun, Fire, etc.).

39.5. Names of yaksha chiefs (oir. *xor ögüqčiyin erketü / yakxayin erketü*, tib. *gnod sbyin dbang po*, mong. *yaksas erketü / yaksas-un qan / yaksas-un erketü qaγan*). The Oirat and Mongolian translations give different translations for one and the same Tibetan title in different parts of the chapter.

39.5.1. Oir. *baxa ügeyin köböün* 'Son without desire', tib. *sred med bu* id., mong. *narayani*, skr. *nārāyaṇa* 'Narayana' (lit. 'originated from a man'). (Ch. 14). The name of a yaksha-chief. In the Tibetan traslations of his name (repeated in Oirat) the first part of the name, skr. *nārā* 'originating from a man' (from skr. *nara* 'man'), was understood as skr. *nā-* [negation] and skr. *ra* 'desire'. In Indian mythology it is an epithet of Brahma or Vishnu.

39.5.2. Oir. *yeke erke örgöjiqsön*. (Ch. 14). (See No 25.7).

39.5.3. Oir. *sayin medeqči*. (Ch. 14). (See No 25.6)

39.5.4. Oir. *ɣartān očirtu*. (Ch. 14). (See No 25.8).

39.5.5. Oir. *sayin maṇi*. (Ch. 14). (See No 25.9).

39.5.6. Oir. *sayin düüreng* 'Well filled', tib. *gang ba bzang po* id., mong. *burnabati*, skr. *pūrṇa-bhadra* 'Purnabhadra' (lit. 'full of good'). (Ch. 14).

39.5.7. Oir. *ayoul-tu* 'Dreadful', tib. *ji 'jigs* id., mong. *kinbari*, skr. *kumbhīra* 'crocodile'. (Ch. 14).

39.5.8. Oir. *kērtü orošiqči* 'Living in a steppe', tib. *'brog gnas* 'Living in solitude', mong. *atavaka*, skr. *āṭavaka* 'Atavaka'. (Ch. 14).

39.5.9. Oir. *ulabur šara* 'Redish yellow', tib. *dmar ser* id., mong. *binggali*, skr. *piñgala* 'Pingala' (lit. 'reddish-brown'). (Ch. 14).

39.5.10. Oir. *xōbōr šara* 'Light yellow', tib. *ser skya* id., mong. *kabal*, skr. *kapila* 'Kapila' (lit. 'brownish'). (Ch. 14).

39.6. Names of gandharva chiefs (oir. *ünür ideqči*, tib. *dri za*, mong. *gandaras*).

39.6.1. Oir. *eldeb ayimaq* 'Different groups', tib. *sna tshogs sde* id., mong. *čindirasini*, skr. *citra-sena* 'Chitrasena' (lit. 'bright spear'). (Ch. 14). In the Tibetan translation of his name (repeated in Oirat) for the first part of the name (skr. *citra* 'bright', 'different') and for the second part which was read as skr. *senā* 'spear', 'army, troop' the second meaning of two possible was chosen.

39.6.2. Oir. *ilaɣuqsani ilaɣuqsan* 'Victorious over victorious ones', tib. *rgyal po'i rgyal* id., mong. *ilaɣuɣsan-iyar ilaɣuɣsan* 'Victorious with [the help of] victo-

rious ones', skr. *jinarṣabha* 'Jinarshabha' (lit. 'master of the victory'). (Ch. 14).
He has a title of "a chief of victorious army" (oir. *ilayuqsan sürügiyin dēdü*, tib.
rgal pa khyu mchog, mong. *sürüg-ün manglai*). In the Mongolian translation
the word "victorious" from this title is connected to the previous one (*gan-
daras*) by a genitive: *gandaras-un ilayuqsan* 'victorious over the gandharvas'
and separated from the title by two dots thus making a separate unit. So it may
be understood as a title related to the previous name (No 39.6.2) placed in post-
position to it. The Tibetan translation of the name is based on skr. *jina* 'victor,
victorious' and skr. *sah* 'be victorious'.

39.6.3. Oir. *maṇiyin küzüün* 'Precious neck', tib. *nor-bu'i mgul* id., mong. *maq-a
kite*, skr. *maṇi-kaṇṭha* 'Manikantha' (lit. 'precious neck'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.4. Oir. *mayad xoloi* 'Definite neck', tib. *nges mgrin* id., mong. *nikantaka*,
skr. *ni-kaṇṭha* 'Nikantha' (lit. 'neckless'). (Ch. 14). When translated into Tibetan
the negation, skr. *ni*, was for some strange reason understood as a prefix of
certainty.

39.6.5. Oir. *xurayin ezen* 'Master of rain', tib. *char pa'i bdag po* id., mong. *var-
nasabati*, skr. *varṣā-adhi-pati* 'Ruler of the rain' (Ch. 14). The skr. *adhipati* de-
notes a ruler higher than a "master" though the Tibetan (and Oirat) translations
don't show it.

39.6.6. Oir. *yeke šangya* 'Great sangha', tib. *kam po ji* (?), mong. *yeke ubasanča*
'Great upasika', skr. *mahā-grāsa* 'Mahagrasa' (lit. 'great mouthful'). (Ch. 14). The
Tib. 1 text has tib. *kham po che* (Nobel 1944: 165)[20] which is the literal translation
from Sanskrit. But the Oirat and Mongolian translations seem groundless.

39.6.7. Oir. *xara* 'Black', tib. *nag po* id., mong. *mahakati*, skr. *mahākāla* 'Maha-
kala' (lit. 'great black'). (Ch. 14). In the Oirat translation oir. *yeke* (from the
previous No 39.6.6.) can be grammatically related to both names so this name
could be read as oir. *yeke xara* 'Great black'.

39.6.8. Oir. *altan metü üsün* 'Hair like gold', tib. *gser 'dra'i skra* id., mong. *suvarna-
kisa*, skr. *suvarṇa-keśa* 'Suvarnakesha' (lit. 'golden hair'). (Ch. 14).

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20   Derge edition of the 29 chapter Sutra has the same.

39.6.9. Oir. *tabun-yēr berke* 'Hard by five', tib. *lngas rtse na* 'In five points', mong. *pančasiki*, skr. *pāñcika* 'Panchika' (lit. 'in five points'). (Ch. 14). It is difficult to explain why there is oir. *berke*. The Oirat xylograph (f. 91a) has oir. *nāduqči* 'player' based on reading of tib. *rtse na* as tib. *rtsen* 'a play' as it is written in the Beijing edition of the canon.

39.6.10. Oir. *yamāni köl* 'Goat's leg', tib. *ra rkang* id., mong. *siladagdai*, skr. *chagala-pāda* 'Chagalapada' (lit. 'goat's foot'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.11. Oir. *yeke yalab* 'Great kalpa', tib. *skal pa chen po* 'Great portion', mong. *maq-a bakini*, skr. *mahā-bhāga* 'Mahabhaga' (lit. 'great share'). (Ch. 14). The Oirat translation is based on tib. *bskal pa* 'kalpa' as it is written in the Beijing edition of the canon.

39.6.12. Oir. *cubaqtu* 'Possessing a ditch', tib. *yur ba can* id., mong. *ubalali*, skr. *praṇālin* 'Pranalin' (lit. 'a ditch'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.13. Oir. *nom tedküqči* 'Dharma protector', tib. *chos skyong* id., mong. *danimabali*, skr. *dharma-pāla* 'Dharmapala' (lit. 'dharma protector'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.14. Oir. *sarbečin* 'Monkey', tib. *spre'u* id., mong. *marandavadai*, skr. *markaṭa* id. (Ch. 14).

39.6.15. Oir. *orōn üyiledüqči* 'Causing to wind in a circle', tib. *'khri byed* id., mong. *oroydayči* id., skr. *vāli* 'Vali' (lit. 'tailed'). (Ch. 14). In the Indian mythology it is the name of elder brother of Sugriva (king of monkeys) who was a harmful person. The Tibetan translation is based on skr. *val* 'to roll'.

39.6.16. Oir. *zöüni sübe* 'Eye of the needle', tib. *khab kyi spu* 'Hair of the needle', mong. *isalomi*, skr. *sūci-roma* 'Suchiroma' (lit. 'hair of the needle'). (Ch. 14). The only plausible explanation for the Oirat translation is an attempt to find some sense in the word combination.

39.6.17. Oir. *xoyor nökör* 'Two friends', tib. *gnyis bzhes* id., mong. *uri nökör* 'Friend of Uri', skr. *sūrya-mitra* Suryamitra (lit. 'friend of the Sun'). (Ch. 14). Skr. *sūrya* 'sun' should be tib. *nyi* id. but not *gnyis* 'two'. In the Mongolian translation half of the name is transliterated, the other half is translated.

39.6.18. Oir. *erdeni üsün* 'Precious hair', tib. *rin chen skra* id., mong. *erdeni üsütü* id., skr. *ratna-keśa* 'Ratnakesha' (lit. 'Precious hair'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.19. Oir. *yeke cubaq* 'Great ditch', tib. *yul chen can* 'Possessing a great country', mong. *maq-a ubalali*, skr. *mahā-praṇālin* (lit. 'a great ditch'). (Ch. 14). (Cf. No 39.6.12.). In Tibetan there is a misspelling—tib. *yul* 'country' instead of tib. *yur* 'a ditch'. It is written correctly in the Beijing edition of the canon.

39.6.20. Oir. *ger ügei* 'Homeless', tib. *khyim med* id., mong. *nakuli*, skr. *na-kula* 'Nakula' (lit. 'kinless'). (Ch. 14). The Tibetan translation (repeated in Oirat) is based on dividing Sanskrit word into skr. *na-* [negation] and skr. *kula* 'house'.

39.6.21. Oir. *küseküyin dēdü* 'Best of the wishes', tib. *'dod pa'i mtshog* 'Best of desires', mong. *degedü tačiyangɣui-tu* 'Possessing the highest lust', skr. *kāma-śreṣṭha* 'Kamashrestha' (lit. 'Best of lust'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.22. Oir. *zandan* 'Sandal', tib. *tsa nda na* id., mong. *čandani* id., skr. *candana* id. (Ch. 14).

39.6.23. Oir. *yeke auɣatu* 'Possessing the great might', tib. *mthu po che* id., mong. *maqabali*, skr. *nāgayana* 'Nagayana' (Ch. 14). The Mongolian version is evidently a transliteration of skr. *mahā-bala* 'great might' and both Tibetan and Oirat names are translations of this Sanskrit word. Skr. *nāgayana* has no ground for such translations.

39.6.24. Oir. *casutu* 'Possessing snow', tib. *gangs can* id., mong. *qimavadi*, skr. *haimavata* 'Haimavata' (lit. 'covered with snow'). (Ch. 14).

39.6.25. Oir. *amuɣuulang oula* 'Mountain of delight', tib. *bde ba'i ri* id., mong. *sandagini*, skr. *satā-giri* 'Satagiri'. (Ch. 14). Skr. *sāta* (but not *satā*) denotes "delight".

39.7. Names of naga chiefs (oir. *kluyin xān*, tib. *klu yid bang po*, mong. *luus-un qaɣan*)

39.7.1. Oir. *ese bülidüqsen*. (Ch. 14). (see No 25.11).

39.7.2. Oir. *dalai*. (Ch. 14). (see No 25.12).

39.7.3. Oir. *eleyin sančiq* 'Pendant of *ele*', tib. *e la'i 'dab* 'Leaves of ela', mong. *ilabadari*, skr. *elā-pattra* 'Elapatra' (lit. 'leaves of ela-tree'). (Ch. 14).

39.7.4. Oir. *sudā bariqči* 'Set free and capture', tib. *btang bzung* id., mong. *muči-lidi*, skr. *mucilinda* 'Muchilinda' (Ch. 14). The Tibetan translation is based on skr. *muc* 'set free' and probably the idea that even if a naga-chief lets anybody free it wll finally grab them back again. There is no ground for linguistic explanation.

39.7.5. Oar. *bayasxulang* 'Delight', tib. *dga'a po* id., mong. *nandi*, skr. *nanda* 'Nanda' (lit. 'delight'). (Ch. 14).

39.7.6. Oir. *cuxula bayasxulang* 'Close to delight', tib. *nye dga'* 'friend' (lit. 'near to delight'), mong. *ubanandi*, skr. *upa-nandaka* (Ch. 14). The Sanskrit name was translated in Tibetan (and then into Oirat) basing on skr. *upa* 'near to' and skr. *nandaka* 'delighting'. Since it is a proper name more adequate meaning should be a diminished form from skr. *nanda* (see No 36.7.5.)—"a junior (or surbordinate) to Nanda".

39.8. Names of asura-chiefs (oir. *asuriyin erketü*, tib. *lha min dbang*, mong. *asuri nar-un qad*).

39.8.1. Oir. *yeke küčütü* 'Possessing great strength', tib. *stobs can* id., mong. *maq-a bali*, skr. *bali* 'Bali' (lit. 'mighty'). (Ch. 14). In both Tibetan texts, Derge and Beijing, there is no word "great".

39.8.2. Oir. *raxula*. (Ch. 14). (Cf. No 14).

39.8.3. Oir. *mingyan nidütü* 'Possessing 1000 eyes', tib. *mi gtong* 'Not letting go', mong. *ülü talbiγči* id., skr. *namuci* 'Namuci' (lit. 'not setting free'). (Ch. 14). In the Indian mythology Namuchi is the name of an asura who was holding the heavenly waters but was defeated by Indra. The Oirat translator misread tib. *mi gtong* as tib. *mig stong* '1000 eyes'.

39.8.4. Oir. *sayin niqte zurxai-tu* 'Possessing accurate astrology [prediction]', tib. *thags bzangs ris* 'Splendid robe' (lit. 'well woven pattern'), mong. *vimačitary*, skr. *vema-citra* 'Vemachitra' (lit. 'woven brightly'). (Ch. 14). The Oirat translation is rather far from the Tibet one: oir. *zurxai* (instead of *zuraq*), oir. *niqte* 'accurate' (instead of *neke-* 'to weave') is difficult to explain; the Oirat xylograph, however, has the same (f. 91b).

39.8.5. Oir. *dēdü amuγuulang* 'Supreme delight', tib. *bde mchog* id., mong. *ama-bar*, skr. *saṃvara* 'Samvara' (lit. 'not disturbed best'). (Ch. 14).

39.8.6. Oir. *amuɣoulun üyiledüqči* 'Making delighted', tib. *rab sim byed* id., mong. *maq-a baqu*, skr. *pra-hlāda* 'Prahlada'. (Ch. 14).

39.8.7. Oir. *šürüün öritü* 'Possessing rough insides', tib. *phrag rtsub* 'Rough shoulder', mong. *arunida*, skr. *khara-skandha* 'Kharaskandha' (lit. 'rough shoulder'). (Ch. 14).

39.9. Names of those female yakshas who deprive living beings of their strength (oir. *amitan bügüdeyin önggö bulāqči eke*, tib. *sems can kun gyi mdangs 'phrog ma*, mong. *qamuɣ amitani čoɣ-i buliɣči*). The function of this group of yakshas coincides with the Oirat translation of their leaders name Hariti.

39.9.1. Oir. *bulāqči eke*. (Ch. 14). (See No 5).

39.9.2. Oir. *osol eme* 'Careless woman', tib. *gdol pa mo* 'Outcast woman', mong. *čandalči eke* id., skr. *caṇḍā* 'Chanda' (lit. 'fierce-she'). (Ch. 14). The Sanskrit word for an outcast person is *caṇḍāla*.

39.9.3. Oir. *kitoun eme* 'Fierce woman', tib. *gtum mo* id., mong. *čandali*, skr. *caṇḍālikā* 'Chandalika' (lit. 'fierce-she'). (Ch. 14).

39.9.4. Oir. *kitoun eme* 'Fierce woman', tib. *gtum mo* id., mong. *kilingtei* 'fierce', skr. *caṇḍikā* 'Chandika' (lit. 'fierce-she'). (Ch. 14).

39.9.5. Oir. *dungtu* 'Possessing a conch', tib. *mdung can* 'Possessing a spear', mong. *labai-tan* 'Possessing a conch', skr. *kuntī* 'Kunti' (lit. 'she with a spear'). (Ch. 14). The Oirat and Mongolian translators read tib. *dung* 'conch' instead of tib. *mdung* 'spear'.

39.9.6. Oir. *šüdü irzayiqsan* 'Showing teeth', tib. *so brtsegs* 'Teeth in tires', mong. *šidün irǰayiɣsan* 'Showing teeth', skr. *kūṭadantī* 'Kutadanti' (lit. 'protruding teeth'). (Ch. 14). The Tibetan translation of skr. *kūṭa* 'horn', 'peak', 'heap' by tib. *brtegs* 'in tires' is typical for many other names in the Sutra.

40. Oir. *badaranɣuyin ilɣaliyin čoq zali xān* 'King of especially shining majesty', tib. *'bar ba'i kyad par gyi gzi brjod rgyal po* id., mong. *ilɣal-un ǰibxulangtu qaɣan* 'King of especial majesty', skr. *jvalana-antara-tejo-rāja* lit. 'king of majesty blaming inside' (Ch. 15, 17). The name of the head of divine sons. In Ch. 17 at the end of the *jataka*-story it is said by Shakyamuni that 10,000 fish were 10,000 divine sons led by the king.

41. Oir. *altan-du üzeqdeküi* 'Seen in gold', tib. *gser du snang ba* id., mong. *suvaran avabas*, skr. *suvarṇa-prabha-āsitā* lit. 'country of golden light'. (Ch. 15). The name of a world-sphere. The words "world-sphere" (oir. *yertünčüyin oron*, tib. *'jig rten gyi khams*, mong. *yertünčü ulus*) in the Oirat and Tibetan translations precede the name while in the Mongolian they follow it. Only in the Mongolian translation is the name supplied with the word "by name" (mong. *neretü*): mong. *suvaran avabas neretü yertünčü ulus-dur* 'in the world sphere by name of "Suvaran avabas"' while in Tibetan and Oirat there are none and the dative marker is added to the name: tib. *'jig rten gyi khams gser du snang baṟ ...* 'in the world sphere "Seen in gold"', oir. *yertünčüyin oron altan-du üzeqdeküi-**dü*** id.

42. Oir. *altan kigēd erdeni ɣarxui oron kükür dabxurlaqsan*. (Chs. 15, 19). (See No 32.6).

43. Oir. *mönggöni gerel* [= *oki* (f. 94b)] 'Silver top', tib. *dngul gyi tog* 'Silver top', mong. *mönggön oki* id., skr. *rūpya-ketu* 'Rupyaketu' (lit. 'silver top'). (Ch. 15). The name of a young man. The Oirat manuscript has a mistake: "light" (oir. *gerel*) instead of "top" (oir. *oki*), which is corrected in the Oirat xylograph. Only in the Mongolian translation is the name supplied by the word "by name" (mong. *neretü*): mong. *mönggön oki neretü ene köbegün* 'this young man by name "Silver top"'. In the Oirat translation the word order is half-Mongolian half-Tibetan, cf. tib. *khye'u dngul gyi tog 'di* 'this boy "Silver top"', oir. *mönggöni gerel* [= *oki*] *köböün ene* id.

44. Oir. *tōsu ügei ilaɣuqsan belge* 'Spotless dhvaja', tib. *rdul med pa'i rgyal mtshan* id., mong. *barmanu ügei tuɣ* id., skr. *vi-raja-dhvaja* id. (Ch. 15). The name of a world-sphere. This name appears twice in the chapter and the second time the Oirat and Tibetan translations have a bit different variants for the words "spotless" to translate skr. *vi-raja* 'without dust': oir. ***tōsun-ēče xayučaqsan ilaɣuqsan belge***, tib. ***rdul bral ba'i rgyal mtshan***. In the Mongolian translation the same name is used in both cases. In all translations the accompanying words are placed as they are in No 41.

45. Oir. *altan zambuyin ilaɣuqsan belge-yin gerel* 'Light of dhvaja of golden jambu', tib. *gser 'zham bu'i gser gyi rgyal mtshan gyi 'od* 'Light of dhvaja of jambu gold', mong. *čambu altan-u tuɣ-un altan gerel* 'Dhvaja of golden light of jambu gold', skr. *suvarṇa-jambu-dhvaja-kāñcanā-bha* 'Dhvaja of golden jambu shining in gold'. (Ch. 15). The name of a buddha. (Cf. No 32.3.—the name of a tathagata.) The Oirat translation follows the Tibetan word order in the beginning of the

name: oir. *altan zambu* 'golden jambu' (Cf. tib. *gser 'zham bu* id.) while the Mongolian translation has a different one: mong. *čambu altan* 'jambu gold'.

46. Oir. *mönggöni gerel* 'Light of silver', tib. *dngul gyi 'od* id., mong. *mönggön gerel* id., skr. *rūpya-prabha* id. (Ch. 15). The name of a young man. This name is a "twin-name" for No 43. The accompanying words are the same as in No 43 but for lacking the word "by name" in all translations.

47. Oir. *zoun altan-ni gerel altandu üzeqdeküi züreken* 'Heart seen in gold, light of a hundred golden rays', tib. *gser brgya'i 'od zer gser du snang ba snying po* id., mong. *ǰaɣun altan-u gerel-iyer geyigülügči-yin ǰirüken* 'Heart of illuminating by a hundred golden rays', skr. *suvarṇa-śata-raśmi-bhāsa-garbha* id. (Ch. 15). The name of a buddha. Cf. No 32.5., which is the name of a tathagata.

48. Oir. *salayin erketü öndür ilaɣuqsan belge tögüsüqsen* 'Possessing a high dhvaja of the ruler of sala', tib. *sā la'i dbang po mthan po'i rgyal mtshan dang ldan pa* id., mong. *sala-yin erketü öndür tuɣ-tu* id., skr. *sāla-indra-dhvaja-agra-vatī* 'Dhvaja of a high ruler of sala'. (Ch. 15). The name of a world-sphere. The words "world-sphere" are placed as they are in No 41 and 42 while there are words "by name" in the Oirat and Tibetan traslations and there are none in Mongolian.

49. Oir. *maši tungɣalaq niɣuur udpalayin ünür dabxurlaqsan* 'Very clean face, utpala scent in tires', tib. *rab dang ba'i zhal u t+pa la'i dri brtsegs* id., mong. *masi tunuɣsan niɣur utpala-yin ünür dabqučaɣuluɣsan* id., skr. *prasanna-vadan-utpala-gandha-kuṭa* id. (Ch. 15). The name of a buddha.

50. Oir. *tenggeriyin erke örgöǰiqsön gerel xān* 'King of light expanding the power of gods', tib. *lha'i dbang phyug 'od* 'Light of the ruler of the gods', mong. *tib-a indir-a braba*, skr. *sura-iśvara-prabha* 'Sureshvaraprabha' (lit. 'light of the ruler of the gods'). (Chs. 16, 17). The name of a king in whose country the following stories take place. When he is mentioned for the first time the word "by name" is added in all translations. In the Oirat, however, it is placed after the word "king" but not before: oir. NAME *xān kemēkü* thus wrongly including the word "king" in the name. Skr. *iśvara* 'ruler' (tib. *dbang phyug* id.) is usually translated into Oirat using a participle form of the verb as *erke örgöǰiqsön* lit. 'expanding power'. This participle form in the name makes the word "light" the subject of the action "to expand" and changes the original meaning of the name. (cf. No 25.7, 39.5.2).

51. Oir. *xongyorčoq bariqči* 'Holding a tuft of hair', tib. *ral pa ʼzhin* id., mong. *čadiladiri*, skr. *jaṭiṃ-dhara* 'Jatimdhara' (lit. 'holding twisted hair'). (Ch. 16). The name of a merchant. His title (oir. *xudaldučini noyon* 'a merchant', tib. *tshong dpon* id., mong. *sartavaki* id.[21]) is mentioned for the first time when he is introduced. The Oirat and Tibetan translations are alike in the word order: first comes his title, then his name supplied with the words "by name" followed by a list of his other merits and knowledge. In the Mongolian text the word order is different: after "NAME by name" the list of merits is given as attributes to his title.

52. Oir. *usu orouluqči* 'One pouring water', tib. *chu ʼbebs* id., mong. *čalavaqani*, skr. *jala-vāhana* 'Jalavahana' (lit. 'bringing water'). (Chs. 16, 17). The name of the merchant's (see No 51) son. He is the main character in Chs. 16, 17. The title of Ch. 17 includes his name and the literal meaning of the name is connected with the *jataka*-story of giving water to fish suffering from drought in this chapter. Wherever his name appears in the Chs. 16, 17 it is supplied by the title "the merchant's son" (oir. *xudaldučini noyoni köböün*, tib. *tshong dpon gyi bu*, mong. *sartavaki-yin köbegün*) in all translations. Only in the sentences where both characters (he and his father) are present (in Ch. 16) does the subject of the sentence have a title while the object is modified by the words "father" or "son".

53. Oir. *usuni padmayin züreken* 'Heart of water lotus', tib. *chuʼi pa d+maʼi snying* id., mong. *usun-u lingqu-a-yin ǰirüken* id., skr. *jala-ambu-garbha* 'Jalambugarbha' (lit. 'water heart'). (Ch. 17). The name of the merchant's son's (see No 52) wife (oir. *nayiǰinar*, tib. *chung ma*, mong. *gergei*), the mother of two sons (see Nos 54, 55).

54. Oir. *usuni debel* 'water *deeľ*', tib. *chuʼi gos* 'water clothes', mong. *usun-u degel* 'water *deeľ*', skr. *jala-ambara* 'Jalambara' (lit. 'water clothes'). (Ch. 17). The name of the Jalambugarbha's (see No 53) first son (the merchant's grandson). In both Oirat and Mongolian translations the word "deel" denoting an ethnic kind of garment is used. In the Oirat and Tibetan translations each of two son's names is introduced separately "one son's name NAME by name" (for the first it is: oir. *nigeni nere inu usuni debel kemēkü*, tib. *gcig gi ming ni chuʼi gos zhes bya*). While in Mongolian they are combined in one phrase "two sons by names NAME + NAME" (mong. NAME + NAME nereten qoyar köbegün).

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55. Oir. *usuni züreken* 'Water heart', tib. *chu'i snying po* id., mong. *usun-u ǰirüken* id., skr. *jala-garbha* 'Jalagarbha' (lit. 'water heart'). (Ch. 17). The name of the Jalambugarbha's (see No 53) second son (merchant's grandson). For the first son see No 54.

56. Oir. *usun bouxu* 'Water going down' / oir. *usu oroxui* id., tib. *chu 'babs* id., mong. *usun urusqaqui* 'Making water flow', skr. *jala-āgama* 'Jalagama' (lit. 'water approach'). (Ch. 17). The name of a big river (oir. *yeke ɣol* / *yeke müren*, tib. *klung chen po*, mong. *yeke mören*). This name is twice mentioned in the chapter when Jalavahana twice comes to this river. First time he comes to see that the stream of the river is turned away and next time he brings help with him to carry water to the fish suffering there. In the Oirat translation in these two situations not only is the name of the river different but two different words for "river" are used. The same two names are in the Oirat xylograph. When the name of the river is mentioned for the first time the word "by name" is added after the name in all translations.

57. Oir. *aqlaqtu bui* 'Being in solitude', tib. *dgon pa na yod* id., mong. *nari aɣlaɣ ǰülge-dür bükü* 'Being in a very secluded meadow', skr. *aṭavī-sambhava* 'Atavisambhava' (lit. 'originated in the forest'). (Ch. 17). The name of a pond (oir. *küb*, tib. *rdzing*, mong. *naɣur*). This name in Sanskrit includes the word "forest" (skr. *aṭavī*) which is a compound noun with a literal meaning "place to wander in solitude" and this idea is rendered in its translations. Whenever this pond is mentioned in the Tibetan and Oirat translations there is the phrase "by name", while in the Mongolian there is none. As a result in the Mongolian text the name does not look like a name and can be understood as an attribute showing the location of the pond.

58. Oir. *ɣartān šiyidam-tu šakya* 'Shakya with a club in his hand', tib. *shā kya lag na be con can* id., mong. *sakyaliyud-un dadagar*, skr. *daṇḍa-pāṇi śākya* 'Shakya Dandapani' (lit. 'Shakya with a club in his hand'). (Ch. 17). The name of Gautama's father-in-law who in this *jataka*-story was the king Sureshvaraprabha (see No 50).

59. Oir. *ariun idēn* 'Pure food', tib. *zas gdzang ma* id., mong. *sudadani*, skr. *śuddha-udana* 'Shuddhodana' (lit. 'pure food'). (Chs. 17, 18). The name of Gautama's father who in *jataka*-story in Ch. 17 was a merchant Jatimdhara (see No 51) and in Ch. 18 he was the king Maharatha (see No 64). In all translations in both cases his title "king" (oir. *xān*, tib. *rgyal po*, mong. *qaɣan*) is added. In the Tibetan translation it is placed before the name, in Oirat and Mongolian it is placed after.

60. Oir. *zemseq eke* 'Armed mother', tib. *sa 'tsho ma* 'Mother nurturing land', mong. *gebegei*, skr. *go-pā* 'Gopa' (lit. 'female guardian', 'shepherdess'). (Ch. 17). The name of Gautama's spouse who in this *jataka*-story was Jalambugarbha (see No 53). The Oirat translation might be based on reading tib. *sa 'tsho* as tib. *mtshon* 'weapon'. In the Oirat xylograph there is oir. *göbegei* (f. 111a) which seems to be a transliteration of the Sanskrit word. Haenisch's edition has *g'opa* (1929: 101). In all translations she is called "daughter from the Shakyas" before her name (oir. *šakya-yin okin*, tib. *shākya'i bu mo*, mong. *shakyalig-ud-un ökin*).

61. Oir. *rāhula* 'Rahula', tib. *sgra gcan zin* 'Holding Rahu', mong. *rahuli*, skr. *rāhula* 'Rahula'. (Ch. 17). The name of the Buddha's son who in this *jataka*-story was Jalambara. (See No 54, cf. No 14, 16).

62. Oir. *ānanda* 'Ananda', tib. *kun dga' po* id. (lit. 'liked by all'), mong. *ananda*, skr. *ā-nanda* 'Ananda' (lit. 'total joy'). (Chs. 17, 18). One of the Buddha's desciples who in this *jataka*-story was Jalagarbha (See No 55). In Ch. 18 he accompanies the Buddha and asks him a question the answer to which is a *jataka*-story.

63. Oir. *tabuni abuqči* 'One taking five', tib. *lnga len* 'taking five', mong. *ban čal*, skr. *pāñcāla* 'Panchala'. (Ch. 18). The name of a country where the Buddha was travelling. In all translations there is a word "country" (oir. *oron*, tib. *yul*, mong. *ulus*) after the name (in Oirat and Mongolian) or before it in Tibetan.

64. Oir. *yeke tergen* 'Great chariot', tib. *shing rta chen po* id., mong. *maharati*, skr. *mahā-ratha* 'Maharatha' (lit. 'great chariot'). (Ch. 18). The name of a king in whose country the story takes place. The father of three sons (see Nos 64, 65, 66).

65. Oir. *yeke doun* 'Great voice', tib. *sgra chen po* id., mong. *mah-a nada*, skr. *mahā-praṇāda* 'Mahapranada' (lit. 'great voice'). (Ch. 18). The name of the first son of the king Maharatha (see No 64). Only in the Mongolian translation is there one word "by name" (mong. *nereten*) for all three son's names.

66. Oir. *yeke tenggeri* 'Great deity', tib. *lha chen po* id., mong. *maq-a deva*, skr. *mahā-deva* 'Mahadeva' (lit. 'great deity'). (Ch. 18). The name of the second son of the king Maharatha (see No 64).

67. Oir. *yeke amitan* 'Great being', tib. *sems can chen po* id., mong. *maq-a suduva*, skr. *mahā-sattva* 'Mahasattva' (lit. 'great being'). (Ch. 18). The name of the third son of the king Maharatha (see No 64).

68. Oir. *arban xoyor yeke zuzān oi* 'Big thick forest "Twelve"', tib. *nags stug po chen po btsu gnyis* id., mong. *arban qoyar yeke oi* 'Big forest "Twelve"', skr. *dvadaśa-vana-gulma* 'Dvadashavanagulma' (lit. 'big forest "Twelve"'). (Ch. 18). The name of a forest where the story happens. In all translations there are no words marking that it is a name. This forest is called by its name four times in the chapter and the words "big thick forest" (oir. *yeke zuzān oi*) or "big forest" (mong. *yeke oi*) or "thick forest" (oir. *zuzān oi / zuzān šuγui*) or just "forest" (mong. *oi*) are treated not as a part of the name but as a noun "forest" in corresponding translations. The Oirat translation varies two words for the forest—*oi* and *šuγui*. In the Mongolian only *oi* is used and mostly without any modifiers. In the Tibetan translation there are two variants: tib. *nag stun po chen po* 'big thick forest' and tib. *nag stun po* 'thick forest', so the Oirat follows Tibetan more strictly. Only in the Mongolian translation is there a combination of words connected with this forest which is marked as a name. Word "by name" (mong. *neretü*) marks mong. *qamuγ-ača sakiqui* 'Guarding from everything' thus making it the name of a forest but not its modifier.

69. Oir. *malaya* 'Malaya', tib. *ma la ya* id., mong. *mali* id., skr. *malaya* id. (Ch. 18). The name of a mountain. It is used to specify the sort of sandalwood (oir. *malaya oulayin zandani*, tib. *ri ma la ya'i tsa n+dan*, mong. *mali aγula-yin čandan*). The salves from this kind of sandalwood helped to revive the king and the queen when they fainted seeing their son's bones.

70. Oir. *yelbi xubilγan* 'Magic', tib. *sgyu ma* id., mong. *maqamay-a*, skr. *māyā* 'Maya' (lit. 'illusion'). (Ch. 18). The name of the Buddha's mother. In the *jataka*-story she was the king Maharatha's spouse and the mother of Mahasattva and his two brothers. (See Nos 64–67). Her name is not indicated.

71. Oir. *yeke törölkitöni yeke eke* 'Great mother of great living beings', tib. *skye dgu'i bdag mo che* 'Great lady of living beings', mong. *maq-a bračapati*, skr. *mahā-prajā-patī* 'Mahaprajapati' (lit. 'Great lady of living beings'). (Ch. 18). The name of Shakyamuni's aunt who was the tigress in the *jataka*-story.

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Philology of the Grasslands

Professor **György Kara**, an outstanding member of academia, celebrated his 80th birthday recently. His students and colleagues commemorate this occasion with papers on a wide range of topics in Altaic Studies, with a focus on the literacy, culture and languages of the steppe civilizations.

Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky, Ph.D. (1974), Károli University Budapest, is an Associate Professor at that university. A specialist of Chinese bilingual works he published monographs and numerous articles including those on Yiyu (Global Oriental, 2009) and the *"Translation chapter" of the Lulongsai lüe* (Brill, 2016).

Christopher P. Atwood, Ph.D. (1964), is Professor in the East Asian Languages and Civilizations Department at the University of Pennsylvania. His works include *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades* (2002), and *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (2004).

Béla Kempf, Ph.D. (1976), University of Szeged, is a subject librarian of the Oriental Collection, Klebelsberg Library and a specialist in Mongolic historical linguistics.